ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

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Read 29 April and 20 May, 1858.

Bedford Square,
4th March, 1858.

My dear Sir,

Among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum there is a short Memoir of the State of Political Parties in England from the last year of the reign of William the Third to the death of Queen Anne, written by the Earl of Coningsby (at least so afterwards created), who was throughout engaged in the ministerial divisions of that period, and divisions they were of no ordinary character.

It is said upon its Title to have been presented to King George the First, evidently for his information as to the state of parties then engaged in politics; but, although it professedly extends to the month of July 1716, it gives no details of any events subsequent to Lord Coningsby's dismissal from office in July 1710.

Whether His Majesty gained much information from the entanglement of the detail may, I think, be doubted. The King himself knew but little of the Consti-

tution, or of the character of the inhabitants of the British Isles; and could not speak English. In Hanover, I believe, it was universally acknowledged that he was beloved. He certainly must have felt unaccustomed to details of turmoil such as this Memoir brought before his view, and which, if at all considered by him, must, I think, have disturbed his peace, and added much to the perplexities which were then assailing his position.

His Majesty's first visit back to Hanover was made about the time of his receiving Lord Coningsby's Memoir; and his voyage and visit to Hanover, I presume, gave him leisure to consult his more immediate and trusted friends upon its contents.

Lord Coningsby was of ancient English descent though resident in Ireland. He was the great-grandson of Sir Thomas Coningsby who was knighted by the Earl of Leicester at the siege of Rouen in 1591. Joining in the Revolution upon James the Second's abdication, he distinguished himself in the battles of the Boyne and of Aughrim, and in reward for his services was created an Irish baron by King William, in addition to which he was made joint Paymaster of the Forces in Ireland, one of its Lords Justices, and a Privy Councillor in England.

He held office also during a great part of the reign of Queen Anne.

Soon after the arrival of George the First his zeal for the Protestant Succession gained his entry into the Baronage of England. He became Baron Coningsby of Coningsby co. Lincoln in 1716, and in April 1719 was created Earl of Coningsby, of the same place, with remainder to the issue of any *future* marriage, and on failure thereof to his daughter Margaret, who had been already created in 1716 Baroness and Viscountess Coningsby of Hampton Court in the county of Hereford, and in whom those titles became extinct. The Earl died, according to the Historical Register for 1729, on April 30 of that year.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

Augustus W. Franks, Esq.
Director Soc. Antiq.
&c. &c. &c.

Earl Coningsbie's History of Parties; presented to King George the First.[a]

I begin this Tract with a state of our unhappy divisions, factions, and circumstances, from the last year of King William 3d to the death of the late Queen; and shall then proceed to shew how the passions, animosities, and private interests and views of the chief actors upon the publick stage at that time have influenc'd every part of affairs, from the death of the Queen (w^ch^ deliver'd us from immediate ruin) to the happy day when his sacred Majesty King George the 1st landed in England, and from that day to the sitting down of this the best dispos'd Parliament for the true interest of Britain that ever was elected.

From the opening the Parliament, the 17th of March,[b] till their recess from business by their first ajournment.

From their first ajournment to the taking of the rebels at Preston, and from thence to the meeting of the Parliament y^e^ 9th January.

And lastly, from the said 9th January, when his Majesty open'd this 2d part of y^t^ sessions, to the prorogation of it in June, when his Majesty went to Hanover.

And in the severall periods of time afores^d^ I shall mention some few of the most notorious mismanagements (whether voluntary or involuntary) that have been run into by those who have call'd themselves the Ministry, and the malignant consequences y^t^ have happen'd from such their corrupt or unskilfull administration; and such farther mischiefs (even to make the support of y^e^ very Government it self impracticable) y^t^ must follow, unless wiser, steadier, and less corrupt measures are taken for y^e^ future by those who are employ'd at y^e^ helm of affairs.

The Church Party, in revenge to King James for invading their power and property by seizing Magdalen College in Oxford for his Popish priests, and imprisoning y^e^ seven bishops in y^e^ Tower, having (tho' directly contrary to their establish'd principles of passive obedience and hereditary right) been the chief instruments in bringing about the late happy Revolution, oblig'd K. William upon the first entrance on his government to make the Duke of Shrewsbury (a new convert from Popery, tho' then for his pretended zeal for the Revolution the declar'd head of the Whig Party) and my Lord Nottingham (chief of y^e^ Tory faction) Secretaries of State; which employments are the two principal wheels w^ch^ turn the whole administration in these kingdoms.

The Duke of Shrewsbury continued in his post but 'till the year 1690; when,

[a] MS. Lansdowne, 885; fo. 65 and 75, being two copies of the same document.

[b] A.D. 1715.

having about that time either sent or resolv'd to send his uncle my Lord Middleton with the Compounders proposition for restoring King James, upon King William's going to Ireland to reduce that kingdom, w^ch^ by the traiterous management of the Ministry was, except Londonderry, entirely in the enemies hands; when Scotland was in arms likewise for King James; and when we knew we were to expect an invasion from France, and an insurrection at home; he quitted, and left my L^d^ Nottingham to be sole Secretary of State, 'till King William, upon his return, sent for my L^d^ Rumney (who he had left joint Lord Justice with me in Ireland) to take upon him the employment of second Secretary; and they two continued so 'till the latter end of y^e^ year '93.

Then, Ireland being entirely reduced; the invasion design'd from La Hogue baffled by burning the French fleet; Scotland in profound quiet, and upon a perfect good settlement; and to common appearance every thing as well dispos'd at home as the best affected could wish; another invasion from Dunkirk, an insurrection in Lancashire, with the villainous assassination of King William, in order to restore the late King James, being resolv'd on, the Duke of Shrewsbury was restor'd to the place of Secretary, and S^r^ William Trumball (a man better inclined to his secret machinations in favour of Popery and King James) was made his partner.[a] What share his Grace had in stifling and preventing a more early and full discovery of the assassination and Lancashire plots, every honest man that was acquainted with the secret of those times can tell.

And, tho' after this he accepted the place of Lord Chamberlain, and was nominated to go Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, one Capt. Smith, nephew to S^r^ William Perkins (who was one of the chief conspirators in the assassination plot, and hanged for the same), having given information upon oath at the bar of the House of Lords, and publish'd a book setting forth all the particulars, how that he the said Smith had acquainted my Lord Duke (being then Secretary of State) of the design to murder the King, and with the names of most of the assassinators, a very considerable time before it was discover'd by Pendergast, his courage would not allow him to stay and execute these great and beneficial employments (for he was to hold both), but his fears hurried him to retire to Rome, where he remained 'till he was invited over by Harley to come and assist in prosecuting his old ruinous designs against his native country upon the late unhappy turn of affairs.

My Lord Nottingham's province during his continuance in the Secretary's office was encouraging and promoting all the party of the Tories w^ch^ he had headed when he oppos'd the declaring King William and Queen Mary King and Queen,

[a] May 3, 1695.

and was for having the Revolution settled upon the sandy foundation of a Regency, and the discouraging of all the other parties who opposed that madness; and his particular frenzy carried him such extravagant lengths in this particular, y^{t} he endeavour'd to impeach my Lord Oxford for burning the French fleet; and that folly turn'd him out. So that it may by innumerable facts be made appear, that all the Popish plotts both at home and abroad, all the Protestánt fatal follies at home, the whole uneasiness of King William's reign, all the traiterous part of Queen Anne's Government, and the disturbances given to his present Majesty, are owing to that first fatal mistake of King William's in employing those two men in the posts of Secretary of State; to the perfidious arts of the Duke of Shrewsbury, and to the foolish tho' inveterate principles of my Lord Nottingham.

And to them, and them alone, was owing the dissolving of the Convention Parliament w^{ch} set the crown on the King's head; the passing the Triennial Bill, w^{ch} broke to pieces the whole Revolution interest all over the kingdom. And the consequences of the above treasonable counsells were the increase of the Jacobite interest in the House of Commons to that heighth, that they were enabled, by delaying the supplies so late in the year that they were useless for the ends they were design'd, viz. to carry on the war with success, by giving deficient funds, and by cramping the publick credit, to prolong the war and increase the taxes to such an annual exorbitancy y^{t} y^{e} people readily believ'd them when they laid those traiterous acts to the charge of y^{e} King and Government.

And these forc'd King William not only to make the Peace of Reswick upon the French terms, tho' to my knowledge he foresaw all the destructive consequences of it; but likewise, when upon the death of the King of Spain these consequences appear'd and a new war became unavoidable, oblig'd him to throw himself into the Tories hands, that party being now become (by the horrid means aboves^{d}) the majority of the House of Commons. And he was the rather induced to comply with this necessity, my L^{d} Rochester, S^{r} Edw^{d} Seymour, and that party, having given him as he told me full assurances that they would not only come in to the vigorous carrying on of the war against France, but to the settling of the Crown on your sacred Majesty's illustrious house.

How they complied with either of these engagements is needless to relate, but sure I am (because I had it from his own mouth more than 20 times) he was fully convinc'd, from their pressing him to own the Duke of Anjou for King of Spain, their backwardness to enter into the war with any vigour, but above all by their manner of proceeding in the passing of the Succession Act, that it was not possible for a King who held under the Revolution settlement ever to be supported by a

Tory Parliament or Administration, and he was unalterably determin'd never more to imploy in the considerable parts of the Government any of that set of men; but God took him off before he could put this resolution in practice, and so we were left intirely in the hands of the Tories, when the Queen ascended to the throne with *a heart entirely English*, as she was pleas'd to declare in her first speech to Her Parliament; the true English of which expression was then by all discerning men construed to be an inveterate reflection on her glorious predecessor, and a fix'd resolution in her Majesty and her Ministry to break as soon as possible with his foreign friends and allies, and to give us the Pretender for an English successor.

But the disagreement that soon follow'd between my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin (who by my Lady Duchesses interest had the entire Government of the Queen), and my Lord Rochester, who was as absolute over the party of the Tories in both houses; and my Lord Marlborough after the success of his first campaign, wherein he took Leige, Huy, and Cambray, having in view great prospects of acquiring riches and honours to himself and his family, w^{ch} he found could not otherwise be arrived at but by renewing the Confederacy and continuing the war against France that he might command their armies; but above all, having been disappointed of the pension of £5000 per annum out of the Post Office, w^{ch} the Queen then first desired to be enabled by Parliament to settle upon him for her life and his, by means of my Lord Rochester's interest with S^{r} Christopher Musgrave, S^{r} Edward Seymour, and the Tory Party in the House of Commons, upon a full debate (in which some Whigs appear'd for him) was refused; the Queen was prevail'd on by her yet beloved favourite to change some *hands*, tho' not altogether *measures*, especially in the great points, and my Lord Rochester was removed from being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the D. of Ormond was put in his room; my Lord Notingham transferred from being Secretary of State, and Mr. Harley, tho' then Speaker of the House of Commons, succeeded him; Mr. Mansell, since Lord Mansell, was made Comptrollour instead of S^{r} Edw^{d} Seymour, Mr. St. John Secretary of War, and S^{r} Simon Harcourt Attorney-General.

And from this change and no change, commenc'd all the succeeding miseries of Europe; for Harley having by his employment got access to the Queen, and by Mrs. Hill, since Lady Masham, (who was then, upon my Lady Marlborough's losing ground on account of her insolent behaviour to the Queen, a growing favourite with her) having got credit, he soon found the way to make his court was to make (on any terms) a peace with France, and to settle the Succession on

her pretended brother, instead of your sacred Majesty. And he fell into these wicked measures so warmly, that it soon appeared he had a superior interest with the Queen to my Lord Godolphin, who, contrary to the advice of all his friends, promoted him.

And by his often telling the Queen that he, i. e. my Lord Godolphin, notwithstanding the repeated assurances he had formerly given her Majesty of hastening the peace, and of altering the Succession according to her wishes, was now so absolutely influenc'd by my Lady Marlborough's passions, who was, in opposition to her Majesty and in hatred to Mrs. Masham, as entirely govern'd by the Whig Lords, and attach'd to that interest, that he thought no more of those engagements.

He, Mr. Harley, soon became strong enough to form a scheme of government in which the first proposition was, to remove my Lord Godolphin from the place of Treasurer, in order to put the staff into his own destructive hands. And so sure was he of the fix'd resolution in the Queen to enter into these his ruinous measures at that time, that he made her write a letter to my Lord Marlborough, who the Queen thought (and she had then too much reason to think so) would readily enter into the same scheme, to acquaint him with the whole affair. And this letter was carried to his grace by Mr. St. John, now Lord Bullingbroke, then my Lord's chief favourite and most trusted friend, whose part in this new scheme was to be Secretary of State, and my Lord Harcourt Lord Chancellour.

And there having been a party of Whig Lords call'd the Junto, and w^ch^ consisted of Lord Sommers, Lord Oxford, Lord Halifax, Lord Wharton, and Lord Sunderland, who had for some time before openly shown themselves envious at, and jealous of, my Lord Marlborough's exorbitant encrease of power and riches, and who in the House of Peers, where the interest of the Lords aforenamed *only* prevailed, had done several things to lessen his grace's great and emminent services to the publick, and particularly on all occasions whenever they were mention'd in the House, by applying the greatest share of them to Prince Eugene's skill and conduct in military affairs; and my Lord Marlborough having this provocation from the Whigs added to his inclination to the Tories, and more particularly to St. John, Harcourt, and Mansell, (and at this instant, even to Harley himself,) on account of their inveteracy to the Junto Lords; and my Lord Godolphin and my Lord Sunderland, both hurried on by my Lady Marlborough's furious passion, having, notwithstanding their near relation to my Lord Marlborough, enter'd into as close or closer engagements with the Junto Lords, in opposition, even in personal things, to my Lord Marlborough himself; his grace, if he had not under-

hand promoted and advised the Queen to make this change at this time, had most certainly determined to be passive in it and submit to it, if the then House of Commons (being composed of a very great majority of the moderate Whigs, and who, under the influence of Lord Carlton, Mr. Smith, then Chancellour of the Exchequer, and myself, had carried on the publick business with the greatest success, in opposition to the wild embroilments attempted by the Junto, and the open opposition given by the Jacobite faction,) had not absolutely refused to have anything to do with such men. And after I had told my Lord Marlborough the same, in the presence of my Lady Duchess, my Lord Godolphin, and my Lord Sunderland, I was privately desired by Lord Godolphin to go immediately to Kensington, and to lay the same reasons before the Queen against her intended alterations of her Ministry as I had before them; w^ch^ I did accordingly. And from that moment Lord Marlborough came to the trimming resolution to cut Harley singly, by w^ch^ he thought entirely to justifie himself to my Lord Godolphin (who, as he had cause sufficient, thought himself abandon'd and given up by him), and to keep in St. John, Harcourt, and Mansel, his great friends and confidents, in order to support him against the Junto Lords, and to keep his interest with the Queen, by not acting directly contrary to the advice he most certainly had formerly given her in relation to these men and their destructive projects. But they were too closely linked w^th^ Harley and Masham to be separated from them; and knowing the Queen's resolutions in relation to the Peace and Succession to be unalterably fixed, her inveteracy against my Lady Marlborough, and likewise against my Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, for being influenced by her, and the assurances w^ch^ the Queen most certainly gave to Harley at parting of a speedy restoration; but above all, depending upon Mrs. Masham's unbounded influence over her unhappy mistress's will in all things whatever, but especially in keeping her steady to the aforesaid engagements; upon Harley's dismission, St. John, Harcourt, and Mansel, notwithstanding all my Lord Marlbro' could say to persuade them to the contrary, likewise flung up their employments with him.

And these your Majesty may depend upon to be the true reasons how our design'd destruction came to be at that time postponed. And it was no better. For the middle part my Lord Marlborough acted in this whole affair had these fatal consequences to his own and the publick's prejudice:—

1st. It made such a breach in the confidence that had ever been between Lord Godolphin and his Grace, that, to my knowledge, who was at this time entrusted by them both, could never be again restored 'till one of the best administrations

that ever Great Britain knew was overturned by each of them underhand acting counter to each other.

2dly. The jealousies of the Junto Lords were now turn'd into certainties, and their cover'd opposition into an open and inveterate one against his Grace, his two brothers, and all his other relations and friends except my Lady Duchess, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin, and such as with them join'd in the mad measures of the Junto Lords.

3dly. And lastly, by his having forced the Queen to part with Harley, when she concluded (and 't is to be fear'd she had too much reason to do so) that his Grace was privy to all the crimes objected to him, he lost all his interest with her Majesty.

And tho', by the virtue of the House of Commons singly, things were kept in a right channel, notwithstanding all the factions, divisions, and dangerous intrigues that had for some time been in agitation amongst us, 'till the fatal year 1710, yet then the antipathies of the several persons and parties were grown to such a height against each other that they seem'd determined to sacrifice all other considerations, sacred and civil, to their respective passions and resentments. And this fire of destruction could now be no longer smother'd, but broke into an open flame in the following manner.

The Queen, who, from the moment she parted with Harley, had held a private correspondence with him by Mrs. Masham's means, now was known to see him every day. And the first publick instance that he chose to show the world his power with the Queen was, persuading her Majesty to give Coll^{n} Hill, Mrs. Masham's brother, (a very young officer in the army,) my Lord Essex's old Regiment of Dragoons, w^{ch} was designed by Lord Marlborough for Meredith, one of his favourites; and this was done without so much as consulting his Grace about it. And as the man this was done for, Mrs. Masham's brother, and the manner it was done in, were demonstrations to my Lord Duke, not only who was the adviser of her Majesty, but that her Majesty intended, by following that advice, to let his Grace see that his interest was lost with her; and therefore, by this affront, she design'd to put upon him this dilemma—either of quiting his command of the army, or serving on, under the heavy load of disgrace Harley and Mrs. Masham had thought fit to lay upon him.

If 'twere possible to add to my Lady Marlborough's fury, this matter, thus circumstanced, made her passions yet more wild; and being govern'd by one Manwaring at this time, even more than by either Lord Godolphin or Lord Sunderland, he being a creature of the Junto's and more particularly of Lord Sommers's,

who was their head, and President of the Council, and most certainly enter'd then and some time before into underhand measures with Harley to ruin my Lord Marlborough, who he abhorr'd; he the said Manwaring told my Lady Duchess, that this was the happy opportunity to drive her mortal enemy Mrs. Masham from the Queen; that an Address of both Houses of Parliament would infallibly do it; that if my Lord Sommers, who was head of the Whig Party in the House of Lords, could be brought to promote it there, and that I would propose it in the House of Commons, and she, by her influence over my Lord Godolphin, would oblige him to engage my Lord Carlton and Mr. Smith, the Speaker, to support me, it was not possible it could miscarry in either House; and that he would undertake to bring my Lord Sommers, notwithstanding the coolness had been for some time between them, upon this occasion to come to my Lord Marlborough, and to give him all the assurances his Grace could expect.

My Lord Duke was catch'd in this snare, and my Lord Sommers on a Saturday came and dined with the Duke of Marlborough privately, none being present but my Lady Duchess and this Manwaring, and then advis'd the Duke to write a letter to the Queen that he could no longer serve, in case her Maj^{y} insisted on Hill's having the regiment; and then to go the next morning out of town and wait the event; which he accordingly did on Sunday morning, without imparting the fatal secret to any one friend in the world; but order'd Manwaring to acquaint me with the part he hoped I would act in it, which he never did, and trusted all the rest to my Lord Sommers; who, I can assure your Majesty, not five hours after my Lord Duke was gone to Windsor, it being the same Sunday before the Queen went to church, having an audience of her, and her Majes^{y} shewing him my Lord Marlborough's letter, and complaining that the hardship he would impose upon her by it was so great, that in case she knew who to send over to command the confederate army in his place she would readily accept of his resignation; my Lord Somers immediately replied, that the letter (tho by himself advis'd as before) was an insolence not to be born by a sovereign from a subject, and that her Majesty need not be in pain for a general, since your sacred Majesty might supply that place; but if she did not approve of that, the Prince of Savoy, who had had the greatest share in the glorious successes past, if commission'd by her Majesty, might perform things full as great when he had the single command.

This so encouraged the Queen and her new counsellours that she sent for all the heads of either party, Tories or Whigs, in both Houses, and all in her service, to know if they would stand by her in case any such insolent Address as that

proposed of removing Mrs. Masham from about her person was attempted in either House of Parliament.

And as it was impossible for any man of sense, honour, or honesty to come into an Address to remove a dresser from the Queen (for, notwithstanding all her secret influence, in outward appearance she was no more,) only to gratifie my Lady Marlborough's passions; so her Majesty had such assurances from all as gave her full satisfaction as to this point, w^ch^ Harley and his brother conspirators made her believe would go to all others; and from hence flattered her so much with her own power and interest, that they made her take courage then to resolve on the destructive change she soon after made of her Ministers and Councils.

And at this instant began the hatred that has since continued between my Lord Argyle and my Lord Marlborough; he, my Lord Argyle, appearing at the head of the warmest reflecters on my Lord Marlborough's insolence to the Queen; and when he spoke to her himself on this subject, he, amongst many other things, told her that Queen Elizabeth for infinitely a less provocation gave my Lord Essex a box on the ear. Whilst my Lord Marlborough continued att Woodstock under keeping of my Lady Duchess, by Manwaring's directions, who fed her with assurances that if he did but stay away the Queen must at last comply; my L^d^ Godolphin, who knew nothing of what had past between L^d^ Sommers and L^d^ Marlborough, and was an entire stranger to the letter wrote to the Queen, or the true reasons of my L^d^ Marlborough's retirement 'till he was gone, enter'd into a consultation with my L^d^ Sommers, my Lord Carlton (then Mr. Boyle), and Mr. Smith, to find an expedient of accommodation, and fixed upon this, that neither Meredith, proposed by the Duke to succeed to my L^d^ Essex's Regim^t^ of Dragoons, nor Hill, to whom the Queen had given it, should have it, but that it should be given to S^r^ Richard Temple, a friend of the Junto Lords, and that Hill should have a pension of £1000 per annum out of the Post Office for the Queen's life; and as this proposal certainly came from Harley by my L^d^ Sommers, they being not yet strong enough to venture to come to such an entire breach with my Lord Marlborough as to turn him out, not knowing what consequences such a step as that would have in the House of Commons to their own destruction; so her Majesty on her part agreed to it, and was prevail'd on to write to my L^d^ Marlborough that she did so, and to desire him to come to town; notwithstanding which seeming condescension of her Majesty, my Lady Duchess (being deluded by Manwaring's letters to believe that my L^d^ Sommers would engage the Parliament to interpose in the Duke's favour, and oblige the Queen to comply upon better terms than the expedient offer'd), kept my L^d^ at Windsor 'till the Sunday following, and made him

write a letter to me by Mr. Craggs to move the mad Address in the House of Commons, telling me that he was assured, if I would undertake it there, it could not fail of success there, or any where else.

Upon which, on the Sunday morning, I went down to his Grace at Windsor, and having, tho' with great difficulty, got him from my Lady Duchess (he not daring to talk with me before her), I did, by shewing him how barbarously he was betray'd in town whilst he stay'd in the country, and even by those who sent him and by their base artifices kept him there, and, by letting him see how wild and groundless his expectations were that either House of Parliament would interpose in the manner he was falsely made to believe they would, I persuaded him (notwithstanding all my Lady Marlborough could do to oppose it when she came to know his resolution) to come to town on the Monday, to go immediately to the Queen, and, in appearance at least, to seem fully satisfied with the expedient propos'd.

This, Sir, is the secret of that whole transaction w^{ch} laid the foundation of all our succeeding miseries, and was the fatal spring from whence even our present distractions and ruinous divisions flow.

This gave courage to the Queen openly to shew her hatred to your Majesty's family, and her inclinations to her brother; power to Harley and the rest of her traiterous advisers to resolve upon our immediate destruction; and created such an eternal distrust amongst those men who had managed the publick business so much to their own honour and the glory and safety of the nation for the seven preceding years, that the whole party, being thereby splinter'd into so many pieces, became entirely disabled from making any stand in opposition to the dangerous designs of theirs and the kingdom's enemies. And from this moment (your Majesty may depend upon it to be a most certain truth, for I presume to affirm it to be so upon my own knowledge), my L^{d} Godolphin (who had always been the greatest favourite of King James's Queen, and who had all along held correspondence with her, 'till the interest became directly opposite to the Marlborough family's greatness, w^{ch} was by Act of Parliament to descend to his son by his mariage with Lady Hariott, my L^{d} Marlborough's eldest daughter), finding the Duke and Duchesses interest with the Queen not only to be irrecoverably lost, but that her Majesty's former affection was turn'd into an absolute hatred and aversion to their very persons; and knowing how determin'd she was to have her pretended brother to succeed her; most certainly hearken'd to proposals brought to him by old Col^{ll} Graham (formerly Privy Purse to King James) from the heads of the High Church Party both of the Lords and Commons, that if he would leave

my Lord Marlborough, and come into the Queen's measures, who resolved to abandon the Whigs, they would rather take him for their head than Harley, who had made the same offer to them.

But this transaction being before Doctor Sacheverell's tryal was over, and therefore built upon a supposition that the same Parliament must be kept for another sessions, when it would be dissolv'd by law; because, if then dissolv'd, another of the same principles would be chosen, as the kingdom then stood affected; and all the business of the House of Commons being then devolved upon me, my Lord Godolphin told Graham that it was absolutely necessary I should be brought [into] this new scheme in opposition to Harley, or otherwise he, my Lord Godolphin, could never carry on the publick business in the Parliament; and accordingly sent Graham to me, at eleven o'clock at night, with the proposal contain'd in the paper mark'd A, which is the very original, taken from his own mouth at the instant he made it to me.

And when I observed my Lord Marlborough was excluded, and therefore desir'd he might be acquainted with it, he answer'd me that he knew my Lord Godolphin so well that he could trust him, and so he did me at his desire, and upon the assurance his Lord^{p} had given him that he might do so; but for my Lord Marlborough, he knew that neither the Church Party nor the Queen would have to do with him.

Tho' I was extreamly surpriz'd at my Lord Godolphin's message, and more at the messenger by whom it was sent, yet I suspended giving any great check to his proposal 'till I had acquainted my Lord Marlborough with it; which I did the next morning, before I went to my L^{d} Godolphin, to discourse him freely about it, and with a design to let him know my abhorrence of such measures.

But my Lord Marlborough, who was mortally struck with the account I gave him, dissuaded me from breaking off the correspondence by entirely discouraging the scheme at that time, that I might give him an account of their proceedings, in order that he might see how far my Lord Godolphin would engage in such perfidious counsells to him, his friend, and his country.

Accordingly, I went to L^{d} Godolphin, and only laid before him my surprize at Graham's coming to me with such a message at such a time, and desir'd to know if he was sent by his Lord^{p}, and what was meant by it?

He freely own'd he sent him to me, and told me the reasons why he harken'd to any proposals from the Church Party of that nature were because there was no other way to break Masham's and Harley's schemes, and to save this Parliament from a dissolution, and, consequently, the moderate Whig interest from

irretrievable destruction. He told me, likewise, my L^d^ Sommers and my L^d^ Halifax were, out of hatred to him and Lord Marlborough, entering into confidence with Harley, w^ch^ intrigue was carried on by the Duke of Newcastle; and therefore, if he should absolutely reject the offers made him by the Tories, he, and those of the House of Commons who had opposed the Junto and turn'd out Harley, should be left to the mercy of a conjunction of the said Harley and the inraged Tories, for such his refusal to treat with them. Tho' it appear'd to me to a demonstration, that these were false and pretended reasons, and that he acted this part upon more dangerous views, yet, to enable me to prevent as much as possible, by my influence in the House of Commons, the steps they should resolve to take towards bringing their dark designs to a head, I seem'd to acquiesce at that time.

And, by the frequent interviews I had after with Graham, I did guess at their real drift in every step they took towards this black work, either in Parliament or any where else. And, particularly by this means, I came to know why my Lord engaged us in the fatal impeachment and tryal of Doctor Sacheverell; and therefore I opposed to the last moment making his preaching for passive obedience and non-resistance one of the articles against him, because I knew that whilst he, my Lord Godolphin, on the one hand, told my Lord Sommers, my Lord Halifax, and my Lord Sunderland (who cram'd this article down our throats), that it was the only way to terrifie the Queen from changing hands (w^ch^ he knew she was otherwise determin'd to do), he had, at the same time, agreed with the High Church to dissolve the Parliament before another Session, as the basis of their new scheme, and that this impeachment upon that point of condemning passive obedience and non-resistance, was a certain way not only to fix the Queen in her resolution of changing hands, but to secure a new election, intirely Tory, by the notions it would give the common people, that the principle of the whole Whig party tended to ruin the Monarchy and to destroy the Church.

And how well this cursed delusion answered the designs of the conspirators the late rebellion has shown, and the madness that still remains in the minds of the people does demonstrate. Whilst this treatise was carrying on between my L^d^ Godolphin and the heads of the High Church party by Graham, and my L^d^ Sommers and L^d^ Halifax were in secret measures with Harley, Lord Marlborough, who had constant accounts from me of what Graham and L^d^ Godolphin thought fit to impart to me, with my own observations thereupon, finding he was at home abandon'd by all sides, resolved to go over to the head of the Army, concluding, when there, he should be able, if not alltogether to baffle the several schemes of his enemies here, yet, at least, to secure himself from receiving any great preju-

dice from them; and that whether the Queen turn'd out the Whigs by Harley and his set of knaves, or by my L^d^ Godolphin and the High Church men, yet still he, in that station, must unavoidably be courted by the party that prevail'd.

The Duke of Marlborough was no sooner gone but I plainly found that my L^d^ Godolphin (from the frequent complaints he made to me of his Grace's late carriage to him, and by all his other workings) was resolved, on any terms, to secure himself and his dependants against the impending storm; and in return to my L^d^ Marlborough for deserting his Lord^p^ in Harley's first scheme, to sacrifice him and all his relations and friends either to the High Church, or Harley, with which he could make the best bargain to attain the ends aforesaid. And he being then (as has been observed) in treaty with the High Church, he immediately gave up L^d^ Sunderland to that party, and my L^d^ Anglesea, elder brother to the present Lord of that name, was pitch'd upon by them to succeed him.

But when L^d^ Sunderland had the seals taken from him, Harley's superior interest with the Queen soon appear'd, by my Lord Dartmouth's being declared Secretary of State, tho' he could not write true English, and was an utter stranger to all business; but, because a servile creature of Harley's, he was chose to fill this great employment, to demonstrate to all partys and sorts of people that he was to be chief Minister, and that his power was to be uncontroulable.

And this disappointment was, in some short time after, the occasion of breaking off all correspondence between the High Church and Lord Godolphin; for, as he saw he could not support himself against Harley by them, so they were sufficiently convinc'd they could not expect to get the Queen from Harley by him. From this time I heard no more of Graham, neither did L^d^ Godolphin entertain me with the same freedom as formerly on any subject after this, but never mentioned at all anything relating to a junction with the Church Party.

On the contrary, he enter'd into close engagements with Lord Halifax and L^d^ Sommers, tho' at the same time he engag'd to get my Lord Anglesea, as an equivalent for the Secretaries office, my employment; and this was his last effort to make the Tories think he had any interest with the Queen equal to Harley's.

Accordingly I was turn'd out and his Lord'p put in my place; and Harley sent me word by my cousin Boyle, now Lord Carlton, that my remove was no part of his scheme, but an unexpected force upon him and his friends, which they could not prevent because they did not foresee it, nor withstand for the same reason.

Here it must be observed, that L^d^ Sunderland was remov'd the 14th of June, and my place was not taken from me 'till the 7th of July[a]; and likewise that the

[a] A.D. 1710.

Duke of Shrewsbury, having been some time before my Lord Sunderland's discharge, to the surprise of all parties, and most certainly by the sole interest of Harley, made Lord Chamberlain in the room of the Duke of Kent; my Lord Godolphin (knowing the intimate friendship that had been between his Grace and myself at the beginning of the Revolution, when all mankind, and I amongst the rest, was deceived in concluding him firm to the Protestant interest,) sent me to him with the following proposal, viz. that he, L^d^ Godolphin, was ready to enter into strict confidence with his Grace in carrying on the Queen's and kingdom's business upon the foot it then stood, with a moderate regard to all parties.

The Duke received me and the proposal I brought seemingly with great joy and kindness, and told me he had by my L^d^ Wharton received the same offers from the Junto Lords, but would have nothing to do with them: that he had rather act with L^d^ Godolphin and myself than with any two men in England; and, therefore, though he had appointed to discourse L^d^ Wharton at his Ld^ps^ own house before he had heard from me, yet he came to me first to desire me to give L^d^ Godolphin all the assurances he could expect from him.

But when I told him (tho' w^th^out any directions from L^d^ Godolphin so to do, but of my own head to try his sincerity,) that L^d^ Marlborough must be taken in, and that it was absolutely necessary his Grace should write to him (who was then in Flanders), of these his excellent resolutions, he was not prepared for such an attack; but in spite of all his art (which perhaps was more than any other man in England was master of) discover'd to me the rottenness of his heart, and the certainty of his dangerous engagements. However, he pretended to submit to the reasons I gave him for doing it, and said he would consult with my Lord Godolphin about it on their first interview, which I was empower'd to appoint, and which, after I had reported to my Lord Godolphin all that had pass'd between the Duke of Shrewsbury and myself, was settled for the next day; and after that I never was acquainted with the time or subject of their interviews.

Though some time after, and a few days before I was dismist, L^d^ Godolphin sending for me, surpriz'd me with telling me that the Queen was unalterably resolved to bring Harley into business again; and that in case Mr. Boyle, then Secretary of State, Mr. Smith, then Speaker and Chancellour of the Exchequer, and myself, would continue to act in concert with him in carrying on the publick business, he, whose interest with the Queen was much the greatest, would prevail with her Majesty to continue the Parliament in spite of all the efforts the Tories made for a new election. That Mr. Boyle and Mr. Smith had already given assurances to her Majesty of their compliance, and that there remain'd nothing

to secure this great point of saving the Parliament but my going that afternoon to Kensington, and desiring a private audience of the Queen, w^ch^ he would prepare her to allow me, and after laying before her Majesty the fatal consequences to the publick credit, and especially to her Civil List, that must follow the dissolution of the Parliament at that time, to give her Majesty the like assurances Mr. Boyle and Mr. Smith had done, viz. that I was ready to act in conjunction with my countryman Harley, who I understood her Majesty was resolved to employ.

But my L^d^ told me, that since this happy expedient for saving the Parliament had been carried on between Harley and his L^dp^ by my L^d^ Halifax, he desir'd I would go first, and immediately from him, to his L^dp^, who expected me that morning, and was then able to give me a farther light into this matter, and better instructions for carrying it on than he could do.

And tho' I plainly saw by this strange discourse that L^d^ Godolphin's treaty with the Tories was broken off; that L^d^ Shrewsbury had brought him into a treaty with Harley; that L^d^ Halifax and L^d^ Sommers had deserted the rest of the Junto Lords, and were likewise engaged with them; and that Harley, finding, by the offer the High Church had made L^d^ Godolphin in the aforesaid broken treaty, what aversion they had to act under his directions, in order to bring that set of men to their wits, who, he well knew, would only come in to carry on his wicked designs against his country, had given these false hopes to the abovesaid Lords; and L^d^ Godolphin that he, upon the approaching turn of affairs, w^ch^ he knew could no longer be withstood, might fall easy, and be screen'd from any fatal consequences by impeachment, &c. (and that he might likewise make the best terms for his particular friends, relations, and dependants), w^ch^ fears his natural timorousness suggested to him; and my Lords Sommers and Halifax, in order to secure themselves, their friends, and relations, in their pensions and imployments, and at the same time to gratifie their hatred against my Lord Marlborough, were willing (tho' their eyes were open) to be deluded by him; yet, after I had laid before my Lord Godolphin my reasons why Harley was never to be trusted, I went to my Lord Halifax (who I then understood had kissed the King's hand to go Embassadour into Holland in the room of Lord Townshend,) immediately, as he desired, and to the Queen in the afternoon.

And upon a very short discourse with L^d^ Halifax, I saw so plainly into the dreadfull and dangerous consequences of their horrid engagements, that, when I came to the Queen, instead of giving her any assurances of acting in concert with Harley, I began with laying before her the inevitable dangers that must attend her making any such change in her Ministry (till after a peace with

France) to the credit of the nation; to herself, with regard to her Civil List; and even to the safety of her person and government, and the whole Protestant interest of the world.

At which her Majesty having been, by Lord Godolphin, made to expect a discourse of quite another turn from me, she cut me short by rising from her seat and telling me, with a very angry air, that "she was not to be frighten'd from pursuing the measures she had resolved on by any thing I could say to dissuade her."

Upon which I thought it my duty to leave the room, and never after had the honour to see her Majesty, but received, the night following, a letter from my Lord Dartmouth, that she had no more occasion for my service.

II.—*The Political Geography of Wales.* *By* Henry Salusbury Milman, *Esq. M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 6th May, 1858.

The historical drama of a country is imperfect and hardly intelligible unless it represent the scenes on which, and the political conditions under which, its action takes place. Its narrative should be accompanied by a contemporary view of the political geography,—of the territorial limits and divisions of the country, so far as they affect or are affected by the course of political events.

That part of our national history which concerns Wales in its relation to England especially requires such illustration.

The political geography of Wales belongs and is confined to the period of its separate political existence; which, however, did not terminate so early as is generally assumed. Wales indeed finally submitted to the English power in the reign of Edward I., but it never became part of the English Realm until that of Henry VIII. It was then annexed by the English Legislature,[a] and politically merged in the united Realm of England and Wales.

The name of the greater country alone has been and is frequently used, not only in popular but in official language, to denote the whole, and the Legislature has declared that in statutes it shall be so understood:[b] yet the name of the lesser survives—a legitimate consequence of, and a perpetual testimony to, distinction of race and language, and an honourable record of independence preserved long after the Anglo-Saxon states had been merged in the kingdom of England.

The political boundary of Wales originally coincided with its physical or geological boundary as laid down by modern science,—namely, the line of the rivers Severn and Dee. But this was soon over-stepped by the Anglo-Saxon invaders, who gradually forced the Welch further to the westward, and established a new boundary, at first indeterminate, but at length defined by Offa's Dyke. The frontier territory traversed by the Dyke was then and long after known as the Marches of Mercia (or England) and Wales.

[a] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26.

[b] 20 Geo. II. c. 42, s. 3.

The precise relation of the Dyke to the Marches, and the peculiar political and legal character of the latter, are derivable from the nature of the Anglo-Saxon Mark, or March; which is thus described by the most accurate authority on the subject:—

"The word Mark as applied to territory has a twofold meaning; it is, properly speaking, employed to denote, not only the whole district occupied by one small community, but more especially those forests and wastes by which the arable is enclosed, and which separate the possessions of one tribe from those of another. The Mark or boundary pasture land, and the cultivated space which it surrounds, and which is portioned out to the several members of the community, are inseparable; however different the nature of the property which can be had in them, they are in fact one whole; taken together they make up the whole territorial possession of the original cognatio, or tribe. The ploughed lands and meadows are guarded by the Mark.

"The most general characteristic of the Mark in its restricted and proper sense is, that it should not be distributed in arable, but remain in heath, forest, fen, and pasture. In it the Markmen had commonable rights; but there could be no private estate. Even if under peculiar circumstances any Markman obtained a right to essart or clear a portion of the forest, the portion so subjected to the immediate law of property ceased to be Mark."[a]

"It is certain that some solemn religious ceremonies at first accompanied and consecrated the limitation of the Mark. What these may have consisted in among the heathen Anglo-Saxons we cannot now discover; but, however its limit was originally drawn or driven, it was, as its name denotes, distinguished by marks or signs."[b]

"No matter how small or how large the community, it may be only a village, even a single household, or a whole state, it will still have a Mark, a space or boundary by which its own rights of jurisdiction are limited, and the encroachments of others kept off. The more extensive the community which is interested in the Mark, the more solemn and sacred the formalities by which it is consecrated and defended. Nor is the general rule abrogated by changes in the original compass of the communities; as smaller districts coalesce and become, as it were, compressed into one body, the smaller and original Marks may become obliterated and converted merely into commons, but the public Mark will have been increased upon the new and extended frontier. Villages may cease to be separated, but the larger divisions which have grown up by their union will still have a boundary of

[a] Kemble's Saxons in England, i. p. 42. [b] Ib. p. 52.

their own; these again may be lost in the extending circuit of Wessex or of Mercia, till a yet greater obliteration of the Marks having been produced through increasing population, internal conquest, or the ravages of foreign invaders, the great kingdom of England at length arises, having wood and desolate moorland and mountain as its Mark against Scots, Cumbrians, and Britons, and the eternal sea itself as a bulwark against Frankish and Frisian pirates."[a]

From this view of the Mark may be derived a clear distinction between Mark and limit, as applied to the territory of this island in early Anglo-Saxon times; both express the idea of boundary, but the former is boundary land, the latter a boundary line. The common boundary of adjoining communities, fully understood, is the common limit of their adjoining Marks.

The limits of the Marks of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms toward each other were doubtless early ascertained with sufficient accuracy, and recognised in their mutual public transactions. The kingdom of Mercia, emphatically the Mark country, chiefly formed out of the original Mark against the Britons, and always, and at length exclusively, bordering upon them, falls under peculiar considerations. Down to the reign of Offa its western limit seems to have been left undefined, and in fact was perpetually advancing as the Britons receded; while, on the other hand, the Britons were ever withdrawing their settlements to some distance within their line of defence, leaving the intervening space as a protection against their encroaching enemies. And thus the Mark of Mercia toward the Britons ever adjoined a district corresponding in its main features, namely, the Mark of the Britons toward Mercia.

In proportion as the social and political institutions of an infant state become more firmly established, arises the necessity of defining the territorial limits of its authority, and of enforcing their due recognition. Mercia had, under Offa, attained great power and prosperity, and it may well be supposed that this necessity had not escaped his attention. The state of the western border of his kingdom was such as to require a definition of this kind to be made without delay.

The Mark of the primitive settlement, in which no one had an exclusive property, and which remained unimproved, uncivilised, and imperfectly subject to public authority, is described as "unsafe, full of danger; death lurks in its shades, and awaits the incautious or hostile visitant."[b] It presents the germ of those evils which attained their full development in the Marches of Mercia and Wales. The district being of great extent, and partly of inaccessible character, and little controlled by the governments which claimed authority over it, early became the receptacle of lawless and predatory bands, which perpetually disturbed, plundered,

[a] Ib. p. 44.

[b] Ib. p. 47.

and oppressed their more settled and civilised neighbours, and almost with impunity. It further served to conceal the advance and cover the retreat of the more regular invasions, by which the Welch Princes constantly avenged the wrongs of their race, and endangered the power or checked the conquests of the Mercian Kings. It became, in short, a standing menace to the Mercian people and government, daily more intolerable, and calling more loudly for repression.

The primitive Mark was from time to time, as social or political causes arose, reduced by public authority, and, to the extent of such reduction, deprived of its character as Mark—that is, parcelled out among private owners; and, if the Marks of two communities adjoined, such a measure on the part of either was preceded by an agreement as to their common limit. The remedy applicable to the condition of the Marches of Mercia and Wales was analogous, namely, to reduce, and, so far, to *unmarch* them—to plant regular settlements, and extend efficient government in the waste and lawless district—to confer upon civilised bodies of Mercian subjects a personal as well as national interest in its preservation and improvement, and so to constitute them a firm and enduring bulwark on the frontier. The first step toward this policy was the establishment of a common limit of these Marches, and such a limit was Offa's Dyke.[a]

It was not likely that a nation still powerful and independent would readily acquiesce in a diminution of territory, the consequence of a series of defeats, or would regard otherwise than with hostility a boundary line drawn against itself, partly, perhaps, by its own reluctant hands, or would view with indifference the advance and increase of hostile settlements. The moral and legal character of the Dyke was scarcely sufficient to maintain it inviolate, and the new settlers would scarcely be strong enough at first to hold their own positions, much less to guard the national frontier also. The history, topography, and form of the Dyke all support the probability that, though chiefly and primarily a line of demarcation, it had also a defensive character as against the Welch. The nature of the defence is somewhat obscure. Whether the theory of a system of patrol or ward, maintained, in part at least, by a charge on the neighbouring lands,[b] be established or no, it may be supposed that in time of war the parts of the Dyke covering the natural approaches to the country were occupied by bodies of troops, who were thus enabled to act with advantage against more numerous enemies.

The important place of the Dyke in Anglo-Welch history appears from other attendant circumstances and considerations. A work of such magnitude and permanence could not have been undertaken, much less effected, except in fulfilment of a formal treaty between the rival nations—a treaty facilitating its construction,

[a] As to this Dyke see Archæologia, vol. XXIX. p. 13.

[b] Arch. Camb. third series, iii. 204.

not only by a truce in the meantime, but also by stipulations for united and perhaps additional and compulsory labour in the thinly-peopled districts through which the Dyke was to be traced. The Mercians, as compared with other Anglo-Saxon nations, had but lately emerged from Paganism, under which they had been accustomed to regard the Mark with peculiar sanctity, and to consecrate its limitation with the most solemn rites. That they did not omit to confer upon this, their greatest and most important boundary line, the highest sanction which their newly-adopted religion would permit, may be concluded from the legend preserved by the biographer of Offa.[a] But "long opposition to the introduction of Christianity had been punished by the absence of the arts and knowledge attending civilisation, as well as of institutions conducive to that object. Mercia has left us neither the name of an author, nor even a meagre chronicle."[b] The records of the treaty under which, and of the extraordinary means by which, Offa's Dyke was constructed, have long since perished.

The construction of the Dyke was immediately followed by the occupation of the Mercian March. "Offa drove the Welch beyond the Dee and Wye, and filled with Saxons the plain and more level regions lying between those rivers and the Severn."[c] The accounts of the gradual occupation of the land on the eastern side of the Dyke and the river Wye by the English, shew that the same policy was continued by the rulers of Mercia, and subsequently of England.[d]

The boundary line of Mercia and Wales, thus established with due solemnity by the authority of both nations, was constantly recognised as such during the Anglo-Saxon age.[e] Cenwulf, the immediate successor of Offa, vindicated it on the north by his famous victory at Rhyddlan.[f] Early in the ninth century Egbert, King of Wessex, added Mercia to his dominions, and adopted its western limit. "Punishments of the most frightful character are denounced against him who violates" the Mark of the primitive settlement.[g] "By Egbert the monarch was a law made, that it should be present death for the Welch to pass over Offa's Ditch, as John Bever, the monk of Westminster, reporteth."[h] The southern portion of the Dyke accompanies, and sometimes appears to coincide with, the lower course of the Wye.[i] Æthelstan, in summoning the Welch Princes to Hereford as to a

[a] Matth. Par. Vit. Offæ II. 975.
[b] Lappenberg, Anglo-Sax. Hist. i. 221.
[c] Langhorne's Chronicon, p. 292.
[d] H. Lhuyd, Brit. Descr. pp. 41, 47.
[e] Anc. L. and I. of Wales, i. 183.
[f] Lappenberg, Anglo-Sax. Hist. i. 240.
[g] Kemble's Sax. in Eng. i. 47.
[h] Speed's Theatre of Gt. Britain, Radnorshire; Bever's Hist. is not printed.
[i] Necham, according to Camden (Monmouthshire), says, "Inde vagos Vaga Cambrenses, hinc respicit Anglos."

frontier town, and confining their subjects within the Wye, was merely confirming the great work of Offa.[a] The passage of the Wye by the Welch was ever regarded as an invasion.[b] In the eleventh century, "when the Britons had invaded and were devastating England, Duke Harald was sent by the most pious King Edward to expel them. With the edge of the sword he reduced the province to peace, and made a law that any Briton soever, who thenceforth should be found with a weapon on this side of the boundary line which he had laid down for them, namely, Offa's Dyke, should have his right-hand cut off by the officers of the kingdom." [c]

Such was the recognised character of the Dyke at the time of the Norman Conquest of England. Neither then, nor ever during the period that Wales remained separate from England, was any other limit of the two countries laid down.

Subsequently to the Conquest the Marches of England and Wales, and, lastly, the remainder of Wales itself, fell under a peculiar system of occupation and government, which superseded this national boundary line, and almost effaced it from history. Offa's Dyke no longer obtained express mention, because no historical or political event turned on the common limit of the Marches, which came to be regarded as one district of uniform character, and to be called, by an obvious abridgment, the Marches of Wales. The practical distinction for legislative and administrative purposes was between the shires of Chester, Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester, according to their ancient bounds, on the one hand, and the Marches on the other; yet the ancient character of the Dyke continued to be recognised in matters of local description.

The system of occupation and government referred to is that under which the Crown of England and its Barons acquired and ruled Wales and the Marches as a vast aggregate of independent lordships. An explanation of this system involves the political relation of Wales to the Crown and Realm of England at successive periods.[d]

The Mercian, and subsequently English, policy of planting settlements in the March of the kingdom toward Wales received a new and aggressive development in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Harald, to whom the government of this March had been committed,[e] emboldened by a series of successes against the Welch, formed the design of occupying their March also, probably as a step to their ultimate conquest.

[a] Will. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Angl. (Eng. Hist. Soc. edit.) ii. § 134, p. 214.

[b] Lapp. Anglo-Sax. Hist. ii. 252.

[c] Joan. Sarisbur. Policraticon, (1639), vi. 6, 345.

[d] The relation of Wales to the Crown of England is treated of by Lord Hale in his "Preparatory Notes touching the Rights of the Crown."—Hale's MSS. Addit. in Lincoln's Inn Library, No. 9, c. iii. pp. 27—45 (not printed).

[e] Kemble's Sax. in Eng. i. 46, note.

The entries in Domesday Book, relating to the territory on the west side of the Wye,[a] lead to the conclusion that Saxons were permanently established there in this reign. Doubtless they became so in furtherance of the design, and under the protection, of Harald, who himself crossed the river, and commenced building a fortress at Porth Iscoed on the Severn. His own settlement was indeed soon after destroyed by the Welch, but those of his countrymen in the same district appear to have held their ground up to the Norman period. The hurried and important events of Harald's own short reign left him no leisure for the affairs of Wales; but his policy in this respect was adopted by the Norman Kings of England, and became a system of conquest, gradually overspreading, not only the March of Wales, but also its more settled and civilised districts.

When Edward I. ascended the throne, a native principality of Wales was still surviving, though acknowledging feudal subjection to the English Crown. The remainder of Wales and the Marches, as subjected to the English power, consisted of very numerous Lordships, of which some had been acquired by the Crown itself, and retained in its own possession (*in proprietatis dominio*), and the remainder, however acquired, were held of the Crown by feudal tenure (*jure feudali subjecta*), but were not in its possession. These latter were the Lordships Marchers (*dominia Marchiarum*),[b] and the Barons who held them were called, in reference thereto, Lords Marchers (*domini Marchiales*).[c]

Some Lordships Marchers originated in the submission of their Welch Lords, who anticipated the gradual but sure progress of the invasion, and saved their lands, by transferring their allegiance to the English Crown;[d] but the greater part were created by conquest.

The vassals of the Crown made conquests by licence of their feudal superior, granted on the usual condition of tenure. This licence was not tacit only, as has been supposed,[e] but often express,[f] as in the charters of King John to Wennowen of Kevelioch,[g] and to William de Braose.[h]

[a] Arch. Camb. first series, iii. 332.

[b] Coke, Entr. Quo Warranto 9, f. 549 b.

[c] Ibid. 3, f. 534.

[d] "Government of Wales," in Hist. of Ludlow, by R. H. C, p. 109.

[e] Ibid. p. 99.

[f] Arch. Camb. first series, iv. 141.

[g] Charter of the Welch.—John, by the grace of God, &c. to our beloved and faithful Wennowen of Kevelioch, for his homage and service, all lands, &c. as well in North Wales as in South Wales and Powis, as well acquired as to be acquired over our enemies, &c. to hold of us and our heirs, &c. Dated at Poitiers, 4 Dec. 1 John (A.D. 1199).—Rot. Chart. 63.

[h] Charter of William de Braose.—John, by the grace of God, &c. to William de Braose and his heirs, all lands, &c. which he hath acquired and which hereafter he shall be able to acquire over our enemies the

The title of the King to his Lordships in Wales and the Marches rested on the same grounds as his title to the Realm of England,—namely, conquest and submission. The titles of his Barons to their Lordships Marchers were similarly founded. The sole distinction between a Crown Lordship and a Lordship Marcher was the condition of feudal tenure to which the latter was subject, a condition perfectly consistent with the independent sovereignty of the tenant within his tenement, as is evident from the example of many states of continental Europe during the feudal period.[a] All Lordships in Wales and the Marches held by, or in chief of, the Crown were, in respect of internal government, alike independent sovereignties.[b] The King had within his Lordships all royal prerogatives of dominion, jurisdiction, and revenue, not as King of England, but as Lord by conquest or submission. His Barons had within their Lordships Marchers the same prerogatives in their own right as Lords Marchers without any royal grant.[c]

King Edward I. himself finally overthrew the last native government in Wales in the eleventh year of his reign, after which no new Lordship Marcher was, or indeed could be, created.[d] In the following year he issued the famous Statutes of Wales, otherwise called, from the place of their enactment, the Statutes of Rhyddlan.

The instrument containing and authorising these statutes is well described by the Lords' Committee on the Dignity of a Peer, in their Report, as approved by the great lawyer Lord Redesdale.[e] It is not, nor does it purport to be, a parliamentary act, but a charter of the King to all his subjects of the land of Snowdon, and of other his lands in Wales, emanating throughout from his sole authority, and having his own seal affixed. The absolute power of legislation which he assumed is that generally allowed to be inherent in a sovereign on foreign conquest, and was neither more nor less than belonged to every Lord Marcher, as well as to himself.

The King commences his charter by declaring that Divine Providence had brought the land of Wales, previously subject to him by feudal law, entirely into his possession, and annexed and united it to the Crown of his kingdom. This was strictly true of the newly-conquered principality, and in some sense of the more

Welch, to hold of us and our heirs, save Kardigan with its dependencies, which we retain. Dated at Caen, 3 June, 2 John (A.D. 1200).—Rot. Chart. 66 b.

[a] Coke, 4 Inst. c. xlvii. p. 240, note.

[b] Yr. Bk. 19 H. VI. 12; Harg. L. T. 399; Coke, 4 Inst. c. xlii. p. 223.

[c] Coke, Entr. Quo Warr. 9, f. 549 b.

[d] Govt. of Wales, p. 107.

[e] First Report (1820), div. viii. vol. i. p. 191.

ancient acquisitions of the Crown, but was quite inapplicable to the Lordships Marchers, which still remained in the possession of their Lords, and were not, and could not be, affected in this respect by a royal charter. If any further argument that this document is not a parliamentary act were wanting, it might be found in this unqualified claim to the possession of Wales, which the numerous Lords Marchers in Parliament would scarcely have admitted. This claim, however comprehensively worded, was effectual only to the extent of the territory in the King's own hands, as is further evident from the enacting part of the charter, which clearly affects that territory only.

The King's domain in Wales thus became annexed to his English Crown as a separate realm or sovereignty. The King, on creating his son, Edward of Caernarvon, Prince of Wales, granted to him by charter (7th Feb. 29 Ed. I. 1301) this royal domain,[a] which thenceforth became the principality of Wales. Additional territories, acquired in the interim, were included in the next charter, that to Edward the Black Prince (12th May, 17 Ed. III. 1343).[b] During two centuries the principality was usually granted to the heir apparent of the Crown for the time being, with the singular limitation "to him and his heirs, Kings of England;" thus continually and finally revesting in the Crown, but never thereby merging or losing its separate existence. Arthur, son of Henry VII. was the last Prince invested with the principality itself by charter, and exercising jurisdiction in his own name. After his death (2nd April, 1502) his brother Henry was raised to the title, but received no similar charter. Probably the King and his advisers were already considering the irregular and inconvenient relation of Wales to England, and contemplating such legislative changes as were effected in the succeeding reign.

So long as Wales remained separate from the Realm of England, this Anglo-Welch principality within it had a political unity, as distinguished from the Lordships which occupied the remainder of the country and the Marches,[c]—a distinction to be borne in mind in reference to many ancient documents and reports of legal decisions, which are otherwise unintelligible.

The division of Wales into shires can scarcely be said to have begun before the Statute of Rhyddlan. Pembroke and Glamorgan may have been called counties at an earlier date; but the words are not strictly synonymous. The primary meaning of shire is, a division of a realm; of county, the district held or governed by a count or earl. Every shire implies a realm, and was usually committed or

[a] Courthope's Historic Peerage. [b] Dodridge's Hist. of Wales.

[c] Govt. of Wales, p. 117.

left by the supreme ruler to the government of an earl. On the other hand, every county joined to a realm became a shire, or part of a shire. But many counties were not within any realm. Long after the formation of the ancient shires of Wales, the term "county" continued to be applied to Lordships Marchers which never even gave their names to shires, although, of course, comprised in the final shire-distribution.

The historian tracing the origin of the ancient shires of Wales is guided by the analogy of England. The Anglo-Saxon shires[a] were of two classes. Those of the first class were originally distinct royalties, formed by the Anglo-Saxons out of lands acquired from the Britons. Those of the second class arose from the dismemberment of the larger kingdoms, and seem to have been formed by placing one or more wapentakes or hundreds under the government of an ealdorman or earl. In some instances smaller shires have been annexed to a larger district. Formed thus, at various periods and upon different systems, it seems to follow that the shires were not necessarily administered according to a uniform scheme. Often the same ealdorman or earl presided over several shires, and also held great offices of state or commands: and hence the shire-government was early exercised by deputies.

In Wales the same causes produced the same effects. Welch shires of the first class may be represented by Pembroke and Glamorgan, originally great Lordships Marchers or counties, forming no part of the royal domain consolidated by Edward I. and granted by him and his successors as the principality of Wales, but gradually acquiring the government, and with it the name, of shires; and at length declared and confirmed as such by the supreme authority. Those of the second class derive their origin from the Statute of Rhyddlan.

This Statute names six districts, viz.: 1, Anglesey; 2, Caernarvon; 3, Merioneth; 4, Flint; 5, Caermarthen; 6, Llanpader and Cardigan; but does not purport to erect them into shires, neither does it clearly refer to them as such.[b] The ancient national division into commotes seems to have been adopted as the basis of the new jurisdiction. As the Anglo-Saxon ealdorman or earl often presided over several shires, so the *vice-comes* under the Statute governed several commotes independent of each other. But every commote had its own coroner

[a] Palgrave's Ang.-Sax. Period, i. 116.

[b] The statute, as printed in the Record of Caernarvon (1828), and thence adopted in the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales (1841), differs in some respects from that in the Statutes of the Realm (1812). There is some confusion between the abbreviations of *comitatus* and *commotus*, which words also appear to bear each a two-fold meaning, viz. the county or county court, and the commote or commote court.

elected by itself, its own bailiff, and its own courts, with important powers and liberties. The Statute, however, was doubtless intended to pave the way for shire-government on the English system. Each vicecomital district, or aggregate of commotes, soon acquired a unity in itself, and, by analogy, the name of county or shire. Caermarthen was called *comitatus* as early as 18 Ed. I., Cardigan in 20 Ed. I., and Anglesey in 14 Ed. II.[a] The commotes fell into a position corresponding to wapentakes or hundreds in England. Subsequently, these shires were more regularly divided into hundreds. It does not appear at what period or by what authority the three shires of North Wales (so called)—Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Merioneth—were so divided. The junction of the lordship of Mouthway (Mowddwy) to the latter shire as a commote by the Act of Union[b] implies that, there at least, the ancient Welch districts had not yet been superseded. A later Act, uniting certain lordships and parishes to Flintshire, constitutes some into a new hundred, and annexes the remainder to one already existing:[c] whence it may be concluded that the close connection of this shire with Chester had led to its early adoption of this English mode of division. The four ancient shires of South Wales remained undivided down to the passing of the Act of Union.[d]

The distinction between Wales and the Marches did not cease with the final conquest of the native principality, but was continued in an altered sense, founded, however, as before, on constitutional and legal differences. "Wales," from the time of the Statute of Rhyddlan, had a twofold meaning. It was employed to denote not only the whole country of Wales as before, but, more especially, the royal domain or principality, including the territories from time to time added to or granted with it. Subsequently, the counties of Pembroke and Glamorgan[e] fell under the royal power, and were included under the same collective term. In other words, "Wales" came to signify the shire-ground as distinguished from the Marches; and thus the name which in an earlier age denoted the native principality—the last refuge of the national institutions—in later times marked the districts of which the government and laws were more closely assimilated to those of the kingdom of England.

Process of time, rebellions and civil wars, and consequent escheats and forfeitures, gradually brought most of the Lordships Marchers into the possession of the Crown; which, concurrently, acquired a great increase of power at home.

[a] Ryl. Plac. Parl. pp. 44, 74, 418. Rot. Parl. pp. 37, 70, 379.
[b] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26, s. 16.
[c] 33 Hen. VIII. c. 13, ss. 3, 4.
[d] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26, s. 20.
[e] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

King Edward IV., about the seventeenth year of his reign, sent his son Edward Prince of Wales, with a guardian and council, to Ludlow Castle, to assume and exercise there the government of Wales and the Marches. Hence arose the authority of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches,[a] who soon became a recognised and permanent body. They sat by the Royal Commission, and proceeded in judicial matters as a Court of Equity. Their jurisdiction was extensive, and its limits not very clearly defined; and hence they became a powerful instrument in the hands of the Crown, which long successfully resisted their abolition.

The accession of the Tudor dynasty to the English throne was not only flattering to the pride and conciliatory to the spirit, but also conducive to the social and political advancement, of the Welch nation. Soon after that period, the legislation of the English Parliament for Wales, formerly restrictive and severe as for a conquered country, sought rather to reform the people and to assimilate the laws to those of England. Whenever it was possible, the statutes of the Realm of England were framed so as specially to include Wales.[b] Formerly, measures of restraint were chiefly directed against the Welchmen of the Marches by way of protection to the adjoining English counties; now they were also applied to protect the same Welchmen against the oppression of the Lords Marchers and their officers.[c] The "Act for recontinuing certain Liberties and Franchises heretofore taken from the Crown,"[d] so far as it affected Wales and the Marches, was preparatory and auxiliary to the Welch Act of Union, passed in the same session.

The "Act for Laws and Justice to be administered in Wales in like form as it is in this Realm,"[e] concerns not only Wales in its widest sense, but the March of England toward Wales also. Four distinct measures were deemed requisite for effecting its object, namely: 1, the union of Wales to the Realm of England; 2, the reduction of the Marches to shire-ground; 3, the extension of English laws to Wales; and 4, the extension of the English judicature to Wales. Of these, the two former were fully, the two latter only partially, carried out at this time.

As to the first, the Act, in uniting Wales to, did not confound it with, England. The common boundary lines of realms are not obliterated by political union; they are merely removed into the province of historical and antiquarian science. Their political existence, indeed, terminates; but, for that very reason, no occasion for

[a] Coke, 4 Inst. c. xlviii.

[b] 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6; 23 Hen. VIII. c. 5; 27 Hen. VIII. cc. 14, 24.

[c] 26 Hen. VIII. cc. 4, 5, 6, 12; 27 Hen. VIII. cc. 5, 7.

[d] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 24.

[e] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26.

their subsequent alteration can ever arise, and they remain historically unchangeable. That the union of countries concludes, in point of time, the question of their common limit, is little more than a truism, and applies as well to Wales as to the Anglo-Saxon states; for this comprehension of the former in the united Realm of England and Wales is strictly analogous to the earlier comprehension of the latter in the Realm of England. The extent of Wales, equally with that of Wessex or of Mercia, can only be discussed in reference to the period of its separate existence.

The second measure of the Act reduced the Marches to shire-ground; in other words, completed the shire-distribution of the united Realm of England and Wales, which thenceforth has consisted of fifty-two shires. With some trifling exceptions, the Lordships in the March of England were joined to English shires, and of those in the March of Wales some were joined to ancient Welch shires, and the remainder allotted into five new shires. Thenceforth accordingly the shires of Wales were reckoned thirteen in number.[a] The territory comprised in them is nearly identical with the country according to its ancient limit; which, however, being anterior to, should be considered irrespective of, its shire-distribution.

Thus Wales and the Marches became historical expressions. The laws founded on the political position of the former as external to England, and of the latter as external to the shires, became practically obsolete. This consequence of the Act, in reference to the local administration of criminal justice implied in shire-government, drew an earnest remonstrance from the then Lord President of Wales, who regarded the Welch as yet unfit to enjoy this privilege.[b]

The Legislature aimed at carrying out the third measure by a general extension of English laws to Wales, excepting, however, the rights of the Lords Marchers so far as they were compatible with the King's dominion and jurisdiction, together with certain local customs. But it was in the nature of the case that the full application of this general rule would long be delayed by national attachment to ancient laws, and by the power of vested and expectant interests; and that it was in fact so delayed is evident from many later enactments. The exceptions in favour of the Lords Marchers are probably due, not only to their great territorial influence, but also to the presence of many of them in the Parliament itself.

[a] H. Lhuyd, Brit. Descr. Fragment. (1568); "Breviary of Britain" (being a translation of the above) (pr. 1573); Price's Descr. of Wales, augm. by H. L., pr. in Wynne's Hist. of Wales (1774); Camden's Britannia (1586); Churchyard's Worthiness of Wales (1587); Dodridge's Hist. of Wales (1603, pr. 1630); H. of Commons' Journals, ii. 57 (1640).

[b] State Papers, Hen. VIII. i. p. 454, part ii. let. xliii. Roland Lee to Cromwell, 12 March, 1536.

As to the fourth measure, the Act did not touch the President and Council of Wales and the Marches, nor the Court of Equity before them. It superseded the civil and criminal courts of the Lordships Marchers, which fell under the jurisdiction of the shires in which they were severally comprised. Further, it extended the English judicature to the new Welch shire of Monmouth; but, considering that the four other new shires were far distant from London, and the inhabitants thereof were not of substance, power, and ability to travel out of their own countries to seek the administration of justice, it established local judicatures there; and, for similar reasons, retained those already existing in the eight ancient shires. Hence this measure was of necessity left incomplete, until, in the course of time, and from the progress of society, these reasons should cease to be applicable.

The continuance of these local judicatures subsequent to the union of England and Wales, is the root of the modern dispute as to the common limit of the two countries. As early as the time of Speed,[a] it seems to have been assumed by some, that the provinces of the English and Welch judicatures constituted respectively England and Wales. But neither reason nor authority supports this assumption. The history and antiquities, the language and literature, the established rights and laws of a country, constitute and characterize its nationality, and remain unaffected by a measure merely concerning the administration of justice. The Acts of Parliament concerning Wales passed in the years immediately following,[b] and the Itinerary of Leland, who visited it at this very period, are evidence that these provisions of the Act of Union were not so interpreted by contemporary authority. To blot out the national name of a country solely on the ground that it no longer retains a separate judicature, is an unreasonable and useless change; and, with reference to a part only of a country, such a change is not merely useless, but directly and widely injurious, as breaking the national unity, and so introducing confusion into the general history of the whole.

Eight years after the passing of the Act of Union, these local judicatures of Wales, being found inefficient and inconvenient, gave place to a new and uniform system, created by the "Act for certain ordinances in the King's Majesty's Dominion and Principality of Wales."[c]

The first section of this Act, that "Wales be from henceforth divided into twelve shires," is often adduced in support of the vulgar error respecting the

[a] Speed's Theatre of Great Britain, 1611.

[b] 28 Hen. VIII. cc. 3, 6; 31 Hen. VIII. cc. 7, 11; 32 Hen. VIII. cc. 4, 13, 27, 37; 33 Hen. VIII. c. 17; 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26.

[c] 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26.

extent of that country. These words, however, do not purport to declare the legal limits of Wales as then understood, but to create a new Wales, by naming the counties of which it shall thenceforth be constituted. This new limitation can only bear a qualified sense; not historical, for an Act of Parliament cannot alter history; nor political, for a political division between two countries already become and still remaining politically one is a contradiction in terms, and can only be compared to a reconstitution by arbitrary limits of the Heptarchy, without touching the integrity of England. Further, that it was not only of a qualified, but also of a temporary character—a limitation for a special purpose only, which has now passed away, carrying with it the limitation—is evident from the remainder of the Act itself, subsequent legislation, and the best authorities.

The Act comprises a variety of matters independent of its chief object. It contains 66 sections. The first is quoted above; the second confirms the limitations of hundreds, lately made within some of the ancient and all of the new shires, by Royal Commission under the Act of Union.[a] The third continues the President and Council of Wales and the Marches of the same. The sections from 4 to 32 inclusive establish the new judicature. Of the remaining enactments some are rendered necessary by the existence of two separate judicial systems within the same realm; some assimilate certain laws of Wales to those of England; some are local, or personal, or commercial, arrangements; some relate to parliamentary representation; and some reserve certain rights and liberties. Finally, there was a clause giving to the King unlimited power of alteration, revocation, and re-enactment, which was repealed in the reign of James I.

The limitation of Wales to twelve shires by sec. 1, does not apply to sec. 2, which is merely supplementary to a former Act.[b] Neither does it apply to sec. 3, continuing the President and Council of Wales and the Marches thereof, and the Court of Equity before them. The Act does not purport to alter or limit, but to strengthen and warrant, this Court,[c] which still exercised authority over the same territory, although the Marches had become shire-ground. Sec. 1 in effect creates a judicial Wales as the province or scope of the new judicature established by sections 4 to 32, and therefore belongs to that set of enactments only. It lays down an arbitrary limit, which, so far as it serves its purpose, is reasonable and proper, but in all other respects is unreal and useless, and leads to confusion. The use of the term "Wales" in this limited sense in other parts of the Act, and in subsequent Acts not concerning the Welch judicature, involves no inconsistency.

[a] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26. s. 20.

[b] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26, s. 20.

[c] Coke, 4 Inst. c. xlviii. p. 242.

Such Acts must, from their very nature, extend to Wales in its full and real sense, but cannot therefore disregard the special sense affixed to the word by Parliament. Hence, to avoid ambiguity, they usually specify, in addition, those parts of it not included in the twelve shires; thus bearing witness, in substantial legislation, to the unity of the country, which, in nominal description, they are compelled to divide.

That such and such only was the meaning of this new limitation of Wales, is further evident from the remarkable proceedings taken during the following century concerning the Royal Commission of the Lord President of Wales and the Marches.

Although the ancient Marches were politically abolished by the Act which made them shire-ground,[a] this Commission continued to be worded as before. "Wales," however, in that instrument, began thenceforward to signify the thirteen Welch shires; but the meaning to be attached to "Marches" was not so clear, and became the subject of an important controversy. It seemed applicable to the remainder of the ancient Marches which had been joined to English shires. But English shires were subject, in their entirety, to the English Court of Equity, and hence arose a conflict of jurisdiction.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the Crown, with a view to terminate this conflict, and not unwilling to extend at the same time the powers of its own officer, took occasion to insert the names of the shires of Salop, Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester in the Lord President's Commission. In the 2 Jas. I. this Commission, so far as it comprised these four shires, was disputed, as an illegal encroachment of the Crown, on the ground that a Commission unauthorised by Parliament cannot raise a Court of Equity. The question was as to the meaning of the word "Marches" in the Act[b] continuing the Lord President and his Court; the Crown alleging that it meant these four border shires. All the judges were specially assembled to consider this question. Sir Francis Bacon, then Solicitor-General, has fully set out the arguments used by the Crown, and the points which they were intended to establish or refute, in his tract on "The Jurisdiction of the Marches."[c] The case against the Commission, the authorities cited in support of the case, and the decision of the judges, are recorded by one of the most eminent of those judges, Sir Edward Coke.[d] The decision was unanimous against the Crown, and the King declared his intention of reforming the Commission accordingly. It was not, however, afterwards reformed at all points, as it ought to have

[a] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26.

[b] 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26. s. 3.

[c] Bacon's Law Tracts.

[d] 4 Inst. c. xlviii. p. 242.

been, and a Bill to exempt these four shires from the authority of the Lord President was brought into the House of Commons; but this, after some discussion, was withdrawn, in consideration of a further promise from the King. The evil remained without adequate remedy during this and the following reign, and led to the appointment, by the House of Commons, of a Committee, including the knights and burgesses of the thirteen counties of the Principality of Wales, and of the four shires the Marches of Wales, to consider the jurisdiction of the Court of the Council of the Marches.[a] On the report of this Committee, a Bill to exempt the four shires was brought in, and passed both Houses of Parliament, but never received the Royal Assent, and seems to have been dropped during the political troubles of those times. No legislation on the subject took place during the period of the Commonwealth, and the subsequent re-action in favour of royal power prevented it from being mooted during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; but no sooner was the Revolution accomplished, than an Act was passed for the total abolition of the Court itself.[b]

This Act was an important step towards unity of jurisdiction in matters of Equity throughout the Realm of England and Wales, but the local judicature of the twelve counties survived in full force to our own day.

An arbitrary limitation of territory, laid down for a special purpose, is inseparably connected with that purpose. They stand and fall together. *Cessante ratione, cessat et ipsa lex.* Wales, as the province of a separate judicature, was such a limitation. A series of Acts from the reign of Henry VIII. assimilated the procedure there to the English form, and at length the "Act for the more effectual Administration of Justice in England and Wales"[c] abolished the separate judicature, and completed the work commenced at the Union by extending the jurisdiction of the Law Courts at Westminster to the remaining twelve shires,—thus virtually terminating the existence of the judicial Wales.

The popular opinion, that Wales consists of twelve counties only, was true in a certain special sense up to the passing of this Act; since then it has not been and is not true in any sense whatever. It was founded on the words of the Act for certain Ordinances in Wales[d]: it was supported and strengthened by the exceptional position of the twelve counties as a distinct judicial district, a circumstance constantly present to men's eyes, and affecting their immediate business and interests, during three centuries. Its wide prevalence is scarcely surprising to those who have observed how vague and indistinct, for the most part, is the know-

[a] H. of C. Journals, ii. 57, 23 Dec. 1640, 16 Car.

[b] 1 W. and M. c. 27.

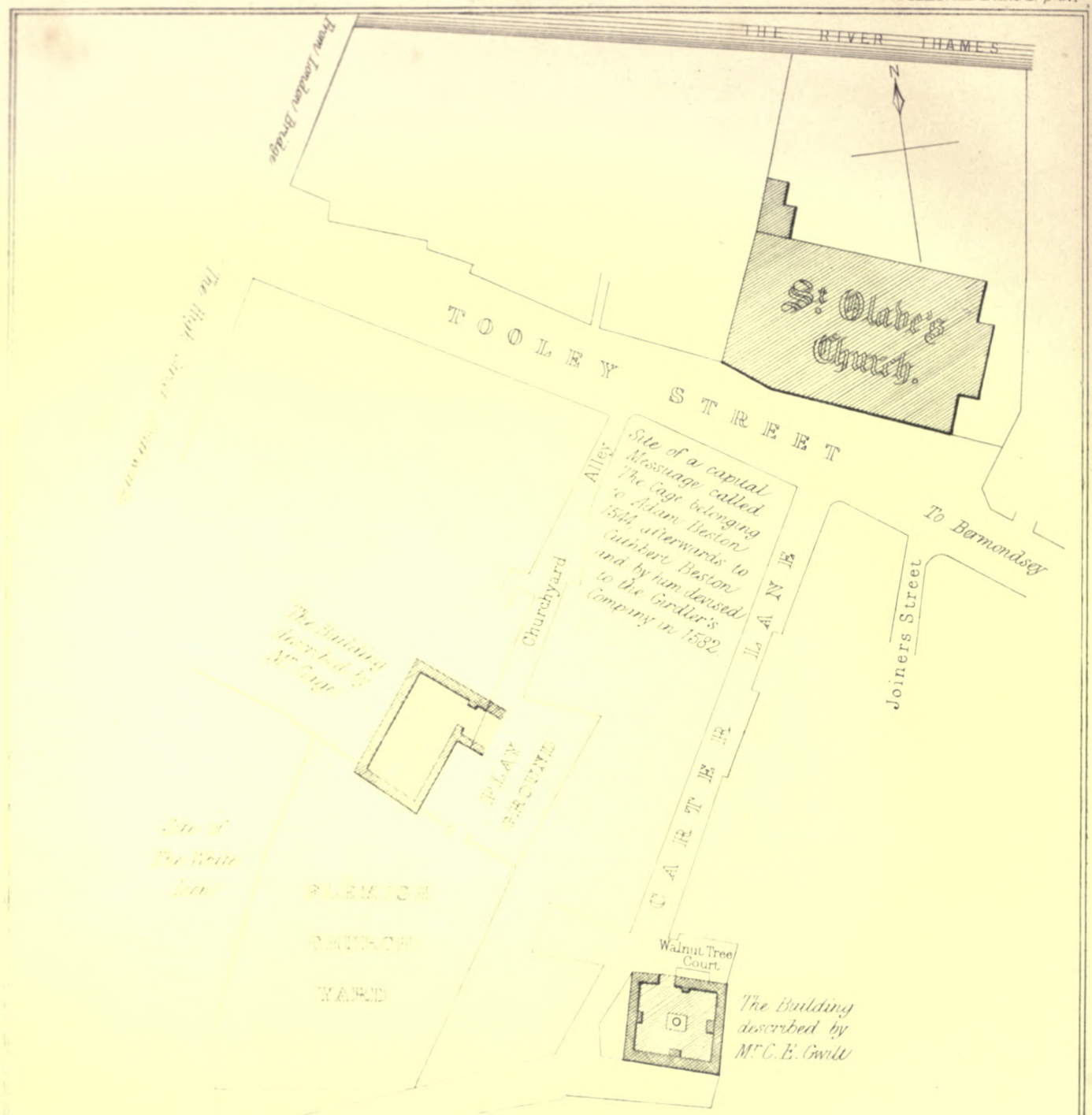
[c] 11 Geo. IV. and 1 Will. IV. c. 70.

[d] 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26, s. 1.

ledge of Anglo-Welch history and legislation. It is to be marked as erroneous; and not only on theoretical grounds; for it brings confusion into the history, law, archæology, and geography of the whole border district, and is universally adopted in modern books of the latter science.

The line in the map of the united Realm of England and Wales separating off the twelve counties should disappear, as signifying nothing; for the fifty-two counties of the Realm now enjoy not only a political and legal but also a judicial equality. On the other hand, the line of Offa's Dyke and the river Wye should be drawn as an historical limit independent of the shire-divisions. It corresponds, generally speaking, with the ancient distribution of the fifty-two counties into thirteen Welch and thirty-nine English;[a] and that distribution should be adopted, if any be necessary.

[a] Camden's Britannia, edit. 1789, vol. i. p. cxxxii.



PLAN

shewing the relative situations

OF THE

NORMAN BUILDINGS,

DESCRIBED BY

MR CAGE AND MR C.E. GWILT,

in Archæologia, Vols 23 and 25.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, May, 3rd 1859.

J. Basire lith.

III.—*Observations on the Remains of an Anglo-Norman Building in the Parish of Saint Olave, Southwark, hitherto assumed to have been the Hostelry of the Prior of Lewes, but now believed to have been the Manor House of the Earls of Warren and Surrey in Southwark. In Two Letters from* GEORGE RICHARD CORNER, *Esq., F.S.A., to* JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, *Esq., Secretary.*

Read 11 December, 1856, and 17 December, 1857.

3, Paragon, New Kent Road,
8 Dec. 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

ALTHOUGH the borough of Southwark abounds with subjects of historical and antiquarian interest, it has hitherto been greatly neglected by our metropolitan topographers and local historians; and we now know little more of that considerable portion of the metropolis than was recorded by John Stow, in his Survey of London, two hundred and fifty years ago.

It is true that the pages of the Archæologia contain some accounts, by the late Mr. John Alfred Kempe, F.S.A., and others, of the discovery of Roman antiquities in Southwark, evidencing that the site was occupied during the period of the Roman dominion in this country, and that various notices of some of the antiquities of the borough are scattered through the Gentleman's Magazine and other works. The Archæologia contains also some interesting papers relating to later periods of the history of Southwark; among which I desire to recall to the notice of the Society a very able account by the late Mr. Gage Rokewood, formerly Director of the Society, of the remains of an early Norman building, laid open during the formation of the approaches to the new London Bridge in 1831, which will be found in the Archæologia, Vol. XXIII., p. 299, accompanied by a ground-plan and several perspective views, with sections, of a crypt or (then) underground vaulted structure of early Norman work, situate in Churchyard Alley, opposite to St. Olave's Church, and beneath the Old Vestry Hall and Free School of St. Olave's, and supposed to have been part of the house of the Priors of Lewes, in Southwark; and also a paper by Mr. Charles Edwin Gwilt in the Archæologia, Vol. XXV. p. 604, describing the remains of another early Norman building, in Walnut Tree Court,

Carter Lane, very near to the building before mentioned, consisting of a ground chamber, with a vaulted roof supported by a central pillar. This last building undoubtedly belonged to the Hostelry of the Priors of Lewes, which is mentioned in records as having been situate in Carter Lane, and which Stow says was afterwards "a common hostery for travellers, and had to sign the Walnut Tree." Mr. Gwilt's account of the last-mentioned building is illustrated by an interior view.

Mr. Gage Rokewood thus describes the former building:—

"The plain unmixed character of the circular style in these remains would lead me to conclude that this part of the Hostelry was built before the time of Osbert the Prior," in whose time (from 1170 to 1186) Mr. Gage Rokewood shows that the Priors of Lewes had no house of residence of their own in the Metropolis.

"The vaulted chamber formed a parallelogram of 40 feet 3 inches by 16 feet 6 inches, and 14 feet 3 inches high, the vaulted roof being supported by arches springing from six semicircular pillars, attached to the side walls: these pillars were 5 feet 10 inches high, including the capitals and bases. The entrance was by an elliptical arch, and possibly there had been a door also on the opposite side. On the south there were two windows, as well as on the west, and there was one on the north."

Mr. Gage Rokewood, following Mr. Bray and preceding writers who have mentioned this crypt, assumed it to have been part of the hostelry of the Priors of Lewes; but I think that the documents which I have now to lay before the Society will go far to show, if they do not conclusively establish, that the building which forms the subject of Mr. Gage Rokewood's paper was the original manor or mansion-house of the Earls of Warren and Surrey, in their town of Southwark; (or the Town-hall, or Hotel de Ville, with a prison and a house for the bailiff's residence adjoining); and we may judge from the early Norman style of the building that it was erected by William the first Earl, or by his son.

It appears from Domesday Book, that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, Southwark was subject to a divided authority; for it is there said that of the profits of the water where ships plied the King had two parts, and Earl Godwin the third. Godwin had certainly a mansion in Southwark, as we learn from the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1052, and the Life of King Edward the Confessor[a] (Harl. MSS. 526); and it would seem that, after the Conquest, the rights of Earl Godwin in Guildford and Southwark became vested in the Earls of Warren and Surrey; for in the Placita de Quo Warranto, temp. Edw. I. is recorded the claim of the Earl

[a] Edited by Henry Richards Luard, Esq. lately published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, lines 442 to 451, p. 402.

of Warren, by his attorney, to have the third part of all toll in the towns of Guildford and Southwark, howsoever arising; and the knights summoned thereupon say, upon their oaths, that the said Earl and his ancestors had from time immemorial all the aforesaid liberties. They also say that the King's bailiffs, and the bailiffs of the said Earl, have a certain common box (pixis) in the town of Guildford, and another box in the town of Southwark, in which they collect and were accustomed to collect the toll, from time immemorial; and that the boxes were always in the hands and custody of the King's bailiffs, and the keys in the custody of the bailiffs of the Earl; and they say that the same bailiffs, at the same time, and together, come and open the same boxes, and then two parts of the money collected remained to the King, and the third part to the said Earl.

A short account of the three manors in Southwark (now called the Guildable Manor, the King's Manor, and the Great Liberty Manor,) will be found in the Archæologia, Vol. XXV. p. 621. The Guildable Manor comprised the ancient town of Southwark, and extended from the dock near the west end of St. Saviour's Church, on the west, to Hay's Wharf on the east, and southward nearly to St. Margaret's Hill, including within its limits the site of the buildings described by Mr. Gage Rokewood and Mr. Gwilt. That the Earls of Warren and Surrey were lords of this manor we learn from the deed cited by Stow in his Survay of London (Ed. 1633, p. 458), whereby John Earl of Warren and Surrey, in A.D. 1281, released to Nicholas, Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and his convent, suit of court, which they owed to the Earl's Court in Southwark, for the house which the abbot and convent had of the Earl's fee in Southwark, situate upon the Thames, between the Bridge-house and the Church of St. Olave.[a]

The town of Southwark remained vested in the de Warrens, and was afterwards in William de Blois, and the Plantagenets, successively Earls of Warren and Surrey, until the death of John Plantagenet in 1347, notwithstanding the grant of a jurisdiction in that town to the citizens of London, for the purpose of pursuing felons and criminals escaping out of London into Southwark; which grant was made by King Edward III. with the assent of Parliament, in the first year of his reign; but we shall see that this grant did not supersede the right of Earl Warren to appoint a bailiff of his own liberty.

[a] This deed seems to have been taken by Stow from the Chronicle of Wm. Thorn, Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores, x. p. 1932. The Church of St. Olave, Southwark, was granted by William, second earl of Warren and Surrey, to the Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, by a charter, to which Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester (who died in 1108), was one of the witnesses.

After the death of Earl John, King Edward III. by letters patent in the twenty-third year of his reign, granted that all the castles, manors, and tenements which were of John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, in the counties of Surrey and Sussex, and in Wales and the Welsh Marches, and which the said Earl gave with warranty to the King in fee, should remain to Richard Earl of Arundel in fee, to be held by the services therefore due and of right accustomed.[a]

After the attainder and execution of Richard FitzAlan (second Earl of Arundel and Surrey of that name), in 1397, a commission was issued to the sheriff of Surrey, reciting that the King had granted to his well-beloved servant John Serle, valet of his chamber, the office of Bailiff of that part of Southwark which late was of Richard late Earl of Arundel, to hold to the said John, with the fees, &c., in the same manner that Henry Champneys, late one of the King's doorkeepers, had that office by the King's grant, while he lived; and that the said John had humbly represented to the King that a certain tenement in Southwark, called "*The Cage*," with one acre and three rods of land in Suthwark, appertained to the office, but that he was kept out of possession by John Surert and Walter Bishop, valets of the King's dear brother the Duke of Exeter; therefore the sheriff was commanded to inquire, &c. And on an inquisition, taken by the Sheriff of Surrey, at Suthwark, on Wednesday next after the Feast of St. Katharine the Virgin, 22nd Richard II. it was found that a house called "*The Cage*," in Suthwark, and one acre and three rods of land, with the appurtenances, in Suthwark, belonged to the office of Bailiff of the third part of Suthwark which late was of Richard late Earl of Arundel.[b]

The house called "The Cage" was situate in Saint Olave's Street, opposite to the Church, on the east side of Churchyard Alley, and adjoining to the Vestry-hall and the Flemish Burial-ground. It was probably the town prison, as it appertained to the office of Bailiff. The acre and three rods of ground comprised (as I think) the Flemish Burial-ground, and both adjoined to the building which forms the subject of Mr. Gage Rokewood's paper, as will be seen by the annexed plan.[c]

Thomas Fitz Alan, son of Earl Richard, was restored as Earl of Arundel and

[a] 1st Patent, 23 Edw. III. m. 28.

[b] Esc. 22 Ric. II. no. 65.

[c] The Cage afterwards became the property of Adam Beston or Byston, citizen and girdler of London, who by his will dated 27th May, 1554, devised his great messuage called "The Cage," with the tenements thereunto belonging, situate in the parish of Saint Olave, to his son Cuthbert Beston (also citizen and girdler of London), who (Stow says) died seised of The Walnut Tree Inn, and who by his will dated 5th July, 1582, gave to the Girdlers' Company his capital messuage called The Cage, and seven messuages in the said parish of Saint Olave.

Surrey in A.D. 1400; and on his death in 1415, without issue, by an inquisition taken at Southwark 10th February, 11th Henry VI., it was found, that on the day named in the writ he was seized of the third part of certain rents, tolls, and customs in the towns of Guildford and Suthwark, with the appurtenances, in the county of Surrey; which said third part of the said rents, tolls, and customs was worth per annum, above reprises, 4*l.*; and that the same was held of the King *in capite* by knight service. And the jury found that Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk, late wife of Sir Gerrard Ufflete, Johanna de Beauchampe, Lady Bergavenny, and Margaret wife of Roland Lenthale knight, were sisters and next heirs of the said late Earl: and that the said Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk was of the age of forty years, Lady Bergavenny of the same age, and the said Margaret thirty-two years of age.[a]

John de Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, died in 1432; and by an inquisition after his death, taken at Suthwark on the 10th February, 11th Henry VI., it was found that the late duke, by letters patent dated 22nd November in the 10th year of the King's reign, gave and granted to John Alman the office of bailiff of the liberties of the said Duke John in the borough and town of Suthwark, and all the lands, tenements, rents, and services, with their appurtenances, which the said late duke had in the town and borough aforesaid, for the term of his life; and that the duke died on Sunday the 19th of October, 11th Henry V.; and that the then duke was his son and heir, and was of the age of seventeen years on the 12th September then last.[b]

By an inquisition taken at Reigate 22nd February, 29th Henry VI., after the death of Sir Roland Lenthall,[c] it was found (*inter alia*), that the said Roland and Margaret his wife, who was one of the sisters and heirs of Thomas late Earl of Arundel, were seized in right of the said Margaret of a third part of a third part of the tolls and customs in the town of Suthwark, in the county of Surrey, howsoever arising, and of a third part of 25*s.* 4*d.* rents of assize, annually

[a] Inq. post Mort. 4 Hen. V. No. 54.

[b] Inq. post Mort. 11 Hen. VI. No. 43.

[c] Sir Roland Lenthall was Yeoman of the Robes to King Henry IV. and according to Leland and Camden he fought at Agincourt, where he took many prisoners, by whose ransoms he built Hampton Court in Herefordshire. His first wife was Margaret FitzAlan, one of the sisters and coheiresses of Thomas Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, and his second, Lucy, daughter of the last Lord Grey of Codnor. He was Governor of Haverfordwest. By his first wife he had issue Edmund, who married Margaret, daughter of William Lord Zouch of Harringworth, in the county of Northampton, but died without issue; and Roland, who, as appears by the Inquisition, was his heir. He was ancestor of William Lenthall, the Speaker in the Long Parliament.

receivable from divers lands and tenements with their appurtenances in Suthwark aforesaid by the hands of divers tenants there; and of a third part of one tenement, one acre of land, and one acre of meadow, with the appurtenances, in Suthwark aforesaid, and in Camberwell in the county aforesaid; and that they had issue Edmund Lenthall esquire, and that afterwards the said Margaret died; after whose death the said Roland held the said third part of a third part of the tolls and customs aforesaid, and the third part of the rents of the tenements, land, and meadow aforesaid, for the term of his life, by the law of England; and the reversion thereof, after the decease of the said Roland, belonged to the said Edmund and his heirs for ever; and that afterwards the said Edmund died without heirs of his body; and the said Roland also died seized of such estate as aforesaid; and that John then Duke of Norfolk and George Neville were cousins and next heirs of the said Edmund: that is to say, the said duke was the son of John late Duke of Norfolk, the son of Elizabeth late Duchess of Norfolk, one of the sisters and next heirs of Thomas late Earl of Arundel, brother of the aforesaid Margaret, mother of the said Edmund (Lenthall); and the aforesaid George (Neville) was the son of Elizabeth late Lady Bergavenny, daughter of Richard late Earl of Worcester, son of Joan late Lady of Bergavenny, another sister and heir of the said Thomas late Earl of Arundel. And the jury found that the then Duke of Norfolk was of the age of thirty years and more, and that the said George (Neville) was of the age of seventeen years at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord then last.

The jurors further found that Clement Bysshopp was late seized in his demesne as of fee of one tenement, with a garden adjoining, and the rest of the appurtenances, in the parish of St. Olave in Suthwark, which he held of John Duke of Norfolk, Edward Lord of Bergavenny, and the aforesaid Roland Lenthall knight, by fealty and the rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling, payable yearly at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas by equal portions; and being so seized, that he demised and delivered the said tenement, with the garden and appurtenances, to John Tasburgh, John Stokes clerk, and one Agnes Jenkyn, to have and to hold to the same John Tasburgh, John Stokes, and Agnes, and the heirs and assigns of the said John Tasburgh and John Stokes for ever. By virtue of which demise and delivery the aforesaid John Tasburgh, John Stokes, and Agnes were seized of the said tenement, garden, and appurtenances; viz., the said John Tasburgh and John Stokes in their demesne as of fee, and the said Agnes in her demesne as a freehold tenement; and the jury further found that afterwards the said John Tasburgh and John Stokes, during the continuance of their estate of and in the said

tenement, garden, and appurtenances, died seized, and that the said Agnes survived them and occupied the tenement; and also that the said Agnes, having been born in Wales, was unable to acquire and hold any lands or tenements within the kingdom of England by divers statutes; by reason whereof the said Sir Roland entered into the said third part of the said tenement, garden, and appurtenances, and held and occupied it during all the term of his life, and thereof died seized; after whose death the said third part of the said tenement, garden, and appurtenances ought to remain to the said late Duke of Norfolk and George (Neville), as the cousins and heirs of the said Edmund (Lenthall); and that the said third part of the said tenement, garden, and appurtenances was worth 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly above reprises, and was not held of the King, but of whom, or by what tenure, the jury were not informed; and they further found that the said Roland died on Sunday next after the Feast of St. Katharine the Virgin then last past; and that Roland Lenthall esquire was the son and next heir of the said Sir Roland, and was of the age of twenty-five years and more.[a]

The house and garden demised to Tasburgh and others were, I think, the building described by Mr. Gage Rokewode, and the garden adjoining, which was afterwards converted into a churchyard; and I believe that the following documents, from a Register of Deeds belonging to the parish of St. Olave, relate to the same premises, under the name of the Gatehouse and Tasburgh's tenement:—

12 Septr., 48th Edward III. By deed poll of this date, Walter de Frylands, clerk, granted to Peter Attewood, Dom[s] Henry de Lewes, Dom[s] Richard Hartwell, and Dom[s] William West, clerks, a messuage and garden, with the appurtenances, situated in the borough of Southwark, to hold to them, their heirs and assigns, for ever.

50th Edward III. By deed of this date, William West granted, released, and quit-claimed to Richard Hertwell, rector of the church of West Horsle, and his heirs, all his right and claim to a tenement and appurtenances in Southwark, which Walter Frelands had granted to him the said William West and others.

12 Septr., 50th Edward III. (*penes me.*[b]) By indenture of this date, Henry de Lewes and Richard de Hertwell, rector of the church of West Horslegh, clerks, gave, granted, and confirmed to John Bryd and Isabella his wife all that house called the Gatehouse, which they lately held and inhabited, beyond the gate of their (the grantors') messuage, in the parish of St. Olave of Southwark, which the grantors lately held of the gift and feoffment of Dom[s] Walter Frilond, to have and

[a] Esc. 29 Hen. VI. No. 27. See Appendix I.

[b] This is the only one of these deeds of which the original has been preserved.

to hold all the aforesaid house, called the Gatehouse, with the chambers and easements to the same adjoining and annexed, unto the said John and Isabella for the term of their lives, or the life of the longer liver of them, rendering therefore to the grantors or their heirs annually one penny at the feast of the Nativity of the Holy Baptist. Witnesses, John Mokkyng, William Mosoon, Thomas Dane, and others.

8th April, 6th Henry IV. By deed poll of this date, John Teweresle and Alice his wife, after reciting that they held during the life of Alice a messuage and garden in St. Olave's, Southwark, and a house called the Gathous there, demised the same to John Frelond during the life of Alice, provided he paid them nine marks sterling per annum during the life of the said Alice.

8 Novr., 9 Henry IV. By indenture of this date, Thomas Knolles, citizen and grocer of London, covenanted with John Frelond, Walter Cotton, John Oxeney and Thomas Benbow, Philip Morsell and John Snell, not to trouble them in possessing of a house or inn in St. Olave's, Southwark, and another house called the Gathouse there, by executing a statute staple or statute merchant, or recognizance entered into by the said John Frelond.

13th March, 23d Henry VI. By deed of this date, John Taseburgh, citizen and stock-fishmonger, released to John Argaston and others, and their heirs, all his right and interest in a messuage or inn in Southwark.

16th March, 23 Henry VI. By deed of this date, Clement Bishop and John Argaston released to John Taseburgh and others a messuage or inn in St. Olave's parish, to hold to them and their heirs for ever.

2d Novr., 33 Henry VI. By deed of this date, John Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, constituted Roger Chamberlaine knight, and others, his attornies to deliver possession to Alexander Farneford and his wife of a messuage called Tasburgh's Tenement in the parish of Saint Olave, to hold to them and the longest liver of them.

20 May, 5 Edward IV. An award indented, made by John Lawley, gentleman, on the behalf of John lord of Wenloke, knt., and Alisaundre Feyreforde,[a] gentleman, concerning differences between them at that time, touching a deed forged by the said Alisaundre, whereby a messuage and garden in Southwark of the said John lord of Wenloke were conveyed to another person.

27 September, 9 Edward IV. By deed of this date, Thomas Calberle gentle-

[a] Alexander Fairford represented the borough of Southwark in Parliament in 38 Hen. VI. He was son of Robert Fairford, coroner of the Court of Marshalsea of the King's house, who died 21st August, 1456, as appeared by his monument in St. Olave's Church, where he was buried. Stow.

man released all his right and interest in the lands, tenements, and appurtenances within the borough of Southwark, called Chaseburgh's, to John lord of Wenloke knight, being in his possession.

13 Decr. 12 Edward IV. By deed of this date, Alexander Faireford esquire released to the Bishop of Lincoln and his heirs all his right, title, and interest in the messuage or inn, and garden, with the appurtenances, in Saint Olave's, Southwark, and another house called "the Gathous" there.

Some of the persons mentioned in the foregoing series of conveyances were, as I consider, the masters and wardens of, or feoffees for, a Guild or fraternity, called "The Brotherhood of Jesus," which had been founded and was then existing in the parish church of Saint Olave, for the maintenance of a chantry priest to pray and say masses for the souls of the members of the Guild. This fraternity of Jesus is mentioned in the will of Emma Cowper, formerly wife of Christopher Egglesfield of the parish of Saint Olave, Southwark, dated 4th Sept. 1534, and proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Surrey, in which she gave to the brotherhood of Jesus, founded in the same church (of St. Olave), iij s. iiij d.; and also in the will of Robert Hunte of the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, dated 13 Septr. 1540, who gave to the brotherhood of Jesus vij s. viij d.; and Otys Wychehalfe of the parish of Saint Olaff, citizen and letherseller, by his will, dated 6th April, 1541, bequeathed to the fraternity of Jesus, founded in the said church, xij d.

The house in Churchyard Alley, under which was the vaulted building described by Mr. Gage Rokewode, was the house of the Guild, and was called Jesus House; and in another letter I shall proceed to show how it came into the hands of the parish, and that it was not the house of the Prior of Lewes, but that it adjoined to that house on the east side.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

GEO. R. CORNER.

Part of the Borough of Southwark, with the South-end of London Bridge and St. Olave's Church; from a View of London, published by Rombout y Vanden Hoeye, Antwerp, circa anno 1632; showing a Gate House on the spot referred to in the foregoing Letter.

My dear Sir,

I will now pursue the chain of documentary evidence, although somewhat broken, relating to the house in Churchyard Alley, in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, which forms the subject of Mr. Gage Rokewode's paper, and of my former communication to you; but I have not found anything referring to it from the date of the last document mentioned in my former letter (12th Edward IV.), until a mortmain licence, by letters patent of the 12th Henry VIII., confirmed by other letters patent of 1st Edward VI.

By the first of these letters patent, which bears date 5th December, 12th Henry VIII. the King granted licence to Richard Panell, John Clerke, John Lovekyn, and Adam Byston, to convey to James Denton clerk, Rector of the parish church of Saint Olave the King, in Southwark, and his successors, one messuage, two shops (*opellas*), and a certain parcel of land, with the appurtenances, containing in length, between north and south, 15 rods 7 feet and 6 inches; and in breadth, between east and west, 10 perches and 5 feet; situate and being in the said parish of Saint Olave the King, (having) a tenement of the Prior and Convent of Lewes towards the east and south, a tenement of William

Braunch, and a tenement of the Prior and Convent of the Blessed Mary Overy in Southwark, and a tenement of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Southwark, towards the west; a tenement of the same Prior and Convent of the Blessed Mary Overy, the King's highway leading from London Bridge towards the parish church of St. Olave the King in Southwark aforesaid and a tenement of Thomas Thatcher towards the north; and of the same tenements to enfeoff the said Rector, to hold to him and his successors for ever: as well to inter and bury in part thereof Christian bodies or corpses, as to apply the profits and revenues of the residue thereof for the ornaments and repairs of the said church. And the King granted licence to the said Rector and his successors to hold the said tenements, and to cause such part thereof as he should think fit to be consecrated, and converted into a burial ground.

The Letters Patent or Charter of Confirmation are dated 4th July, 1st Edward VI.

The conveyance from Richard Panell and the other persons named in the Letters Patent is not extant; but the books of the parish of St. Olave, which are existing from 1546, show that the parish was in possession of the premises from that time at least; and about the same time a part of the ground comprised in the licence to convey was consecrated, and converted into a churchyard or burial ground, since called the Flemish churchyard or burial ground; most probably from having been devoted to the burial of the Flemings, who settled in this parish in great numbers about the year 1568.[a]

The messuage comprised in the Letters Patent was used by the parish for a Vestry or Church hall; and on the 22nd July, 1561, it was ordered by the Vestry, "that the churchwardens should prepare and make ready the church hall with benches and seats, and all things necessary for the free school (then about to be established by the parishioners), which was to be ready against Michaelmas then next;" from which time the Free Grammar School of St. Olave's was held in the vestry or church hall, until the building was pulled down, for the purpose of forming one of the approaches to New London Bridge, in the year 1831.

In Manning and Bray's History of Surrey,[b] it is said that St. Olave's Free Gram-

[a] This churchyard was made previously to the 36th Hen. VIII., as appears by the particulars of a grant to Robert Curzen in that year of a tenement called the Whyte Lyon, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, in Southwark, abutting east upon the new cemetery of St. Olave's and the garden belonging to the late monastery of Lewes, west on the King's highway, north on the sign of the Ball, late of the hospital of St. Thomas à Beckett, and south on a tenement belonging to Master Robert Tirrell, in the tenure of Henry Mynce.

[b] Vol. iii. p. 599.

mar School was built on part of the site of the Prior of Lewes's house, and under the school is a crypt, which was probably under the chapel of the priors. But in fact there were two crypts, the one which formed the subject of Mr. Gage Rokewood's paper, and the other which was described by Mr. Charles E. Gwilt.[a]

Mr. Wilkinson, in his Londina Illustrata, in which he gives an account of this crypt with an interior view and ground-plan, and all subsequent writers, seem to have taken for granted the identity of the crypt mentioned (I believe for the first time in print) by Mr. Bray, and the house of the Prior of Lewes, mentioned by Stow. It is, however, sufficiently evident from the letters patent of 12th Henry VIII., that the house which was afterwards used for the vestry hall and school-house was the property of Richard Panell and others, in the 12th of King Henry VIII., seventeen years prior to the date of the Prior of Lewes' surrender, which was by fine levied in Michaelmas term 29th Henry VIII.; and the letters patent also describe the premises in question as having the house of the Prior of Lewes on the east and south.

In the surrender from the Prior of Lewes to King Henry VIII., and in the

[a] The following letter from Mr. Bray to my late father (who gave him some assistance in that part of the History of Surrey which relates to Southwark), shows that he was acquainted with both crypts, but he very naturally appropriated the more considerable remains to the Priors of Lewes, the only pre-occupiers of whom he was aware:—

"Gt. Russell Street, Tuesday morn. 25 May (1813).

"Dear Sir,

"From your readiness to assist me, and, what is better, to do it effectually, I shall make no scruple to give you some further trouble.

"I thought I had got St. Olave's ready for the printer, but, on reading it again, I find a contradiction; you can probably get it cleared up for me.

"I am first told that opposite the church was the Prior of Lewes's town house—since the Walnut Tree inn; that the chapel, consisting of two aisles, remains at the upper end of Walnut Tree Alley, but the earth having been raised it is now under ground, used as a cyder cellar or warehouse.

"I am afterwards informed that there is a Gothic building, a little to the west, under the school-house, resembling a small chapel or crypt, now a wine-vault belonging to the King's Head inn or tavern.

"Now I wish you to tell me which is the fact, or whether these two are in truth one and the same.

"The printer being at a stand, a speedy answer will be particularly obliging.

"Is there a portrait of Queen Elizabeth in the school-house? This has occurred since my writing last night.

"I am, Sir, yr. much obliged hble. servt.

"W. BRAY.

"R. Corner, Esq.

"St. Thomas's, Southwark.

"Tuesday morn. before 8."

Valor Ecclesiasticus, tempore Henry VIII., the house of the prior and convent of Lewes in Southwark is stated to have been in Carter Lane, the arched gateway whereof (mentioned by Stowe) stood across Carter Lane; and of which gateway there was remaining, until the removal of the surrounding buildings in 1831, the foot of one of the piers on the east side of Carter Lane.

Richard Panell, John Clerke, John Lovekyn, and Adam Byston were, I presume, the master and wardens of, or the then feoffees for, the Brotherhood of Jesus; and they doubtless conveyed the premises to the rector, in pursuance of the licence obtained from King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. After the house came into the possession of the parish, I find it frequently called "Jesus House" in the parish books; for instance:—

Anno 1552 to 1554.

"Itm. p'd in Jesus hows for fyer and drynk at a vestrie . . iiij^{d}.
"Itm. p'd in Jesus hows at a vestry, and for auditing of accounts . iiij^{d} ob."

And in the minutes of a vestry held on the 5th September, A^{o} 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, I find the following entry:—

"Imprimis.—That where there is a monyc̃on and a requeste made by the wardens and brotherhood of Jesus unto the churchwardens and assistants of this parish of Saint Olave's, to have a lease of all there rents in Church yarde Alley, yt ys agreed that the sayd churchwardens shall make a dyrect answer unto the sayd Brotherhood of Jesus, att the next vestrye, whether they shall have the sayd lease or no, and also at that tyme to bring in a rental of the same."

At the next vestry, held on the 17th December, it was agreed that the rents of the tenements in Churchyard Alley should remain as they were, to the use of the parish; and that there should be no lease let of them. But at a subsequent vestry, held on the 27th December, 1557, it was agreed that "the wardens and assistance of Jesus' Brotherhood should have a day between that and hallowtyde, to make answer what they will give towards the building of the church hows, for a fyne, and what yearly rent they will give for the same to serve them their feasts and quarter days."

The church house here mentioned was the vestry hall, which was rebuilt about that time; but, although there are entries of various contributions towards the building, it does not appear that the fraternity of Jesus were contributors. From their application to the vestry for a lease it would seem, however, that the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, on the accession of Queen Mary, had

encouraged them to make an attempt to revive and re-establish the fraternity in their old quarters.[a]

I remain,
My dear Sir,
Yours sincerely,
GEO. R. CORNER.

3, Paragon, New Kent Road,
14 December, 1857.

[a] In the parish books, previous to the Reformation, there is frequent mention of Our Lady's Brethren, St. Clement's Brethren, and St. Anne's Sisters, three religious associations attached to St. Olave's Church, which had four aisles and chapels respectively dedicated to Our Lady, St. Clement, St. Anne, and St. Barbara; the following entries relating to the suppression of these associations at the Reformation, although not exactly relevant to the subject of my paper, may, perhaps, be considered sufficiently curious to excuse their introduction into this note.

1546 to 1548

It'm. payd to the M(aster) of St. Clement's Bretheren, when we toke y^e^ reckning at the rt. (receipt) of ther ger (gear), yt ys to say, of Wyll'm Beston, Olave Burr. . . . . iij li. viij s. ij d.

It'm, payd to O'r Lady Bretheren, when we toke the reqning at the re' of the ger, yt is to say, of Stevene Martyne, Wyll'm Jones . . . . . xv s.

Inventory, A° 1556.

It'm, a challys gyvene by Sentte Tanys (Anne's) systars, thene beyng Elizabethe Egylfered, Jone Whyte, ... Maryatt, Jone Vestrame, and M'g'ette Rutte, w^ch^ challys weythe . xi onzys q^t^ & d'q^t^

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Inquisitio post mortem Rolandi Lenthall, Militis.

(Escheat 29 Hen. 6, No. 27.)

Liba̅t fuit Cu̅ xx° die Marcij, Anno xxix°. R. H. vj^ti^.

Surr̄. } Inquisicio capt̄ apud Reygate in com̄ p̄dco vicesimo secundo die Februarij anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conq̄m vicesimo nono coram Thoma Tauke Esc̄ dci Regis in com̄ p̄dco virtute br̄is ejusd̄m d̄ni Regis eid̄m Esc̄ direct̄ ꝛ huic Inquis̄ consut̄ sup sacr̄m Robti Tyghe Johis Coupe Johis Hyleer Johis Frecomber Johis Sharp Johis Ropkyn Willi Stokker Henrici Rolf Thome Lynkefeld Johis Bret junioris Johis Beald junioris Robti Dode ꝛ Johis Wodeman jur̄. Qui dicunt sup sacr̄m suū q̄d Rolandus Lenthale Miles in p̄dco br̄i noīatus ꝛ Margareta uxor ejus una soror̄ ꝛ heredum Thome nup Comitis Arundell in jure ejusdem Margarete nup

fuerunt sc̃iti in d̃nico suo ut de feodo de ꝑcia ꝑte duaꝫ partiū reddiť custum̃ de Guldeford cum ꝑtiñ in com̃ p̃dc̃o ꝓcipiend annuatim ad festa Pasche ⁊ Sc̃i Mich̃is equis porcionibꝫ. Et sic inde sc̃iti ħuerunt exitum inꝑ eos Edmundum Lenthale armig̃um ⁊ postea p̃dc̃a Margareta obiit post cujus mortem p̃dc̃us Rolandus se tenuit in dc̃a ꝑcia ꝑte duaꝫ partiū reddiť p̃dicť cū ꝑtiñ ꝑ legem Anglie. Postmodumꝙ p̃dcus Edūs filius p̃dcoꝫ Rolandi ⁊ Margarete ꝑ cartam suam cujus dať est ultimo die Novembris anno regni regis Henrici Sexti post conq̃m Angliæ vicesimo ꝑcio juř p̃dc̃is sup capcioñ hujus Inquiš in evidenc̃ ostenš ꝑ nomen Eđi Lenthale armig̃i concessit q̃d đc̃a ꝑcia pars duaꝫ partiū reddiť p̃dicť cum ꝑtiñ quam p̃dc̃us Rolandus inꝑ alia tenuit ad ꝑn̄ vite sue ꝑ legem Anglie post mortem p̃dc̃e Margarete de hereditate p̃dc̃i Edmundi ⁊ que post mortem dc̃i Rolandi eidm̃ Edo reꝑti deberet post decessum ejusd̃m Rolandi inꝑ alia remaneret venabilibꝫ p̃ribꝫ Witto Saꝫ Thome Bathoñ ⁊ Welleñ epis Rađo Boteler đno Sudeley tunc thes̄ Anglie Joh̃i Stopyndon clico Ric̃o Andrewe clico Galfr̃o Poole armig̃o Walꝑo Urry Ric̃o Wynne ⁊ Joh̃i Wodye heñđ sibi hered ⁊ assign̄ coꝫ imꝑꝑm licencia regia sup hoc prius ħita ⁊ optenta ac juř p̃dc̃is sup capcionem hujus Inquiš in evidenc̃ siťiꝑ ostenš. Virtute cujus quidem concessionis p̃fatus Rolandus postea de p̃dc̃a ꝑcia ꝑte duaꝫ partiū reddiť p̃dicť cum ꝑtiñ p̃fatis epis Rađo Joh̃i Stopyndon Ric̃o Galfr̃o Walꝑo Ric̃o ⁊ Joh̃i Wodye attornavit. Dic̃ eciam juř p̃dc̃i sup sacr̃m suū q̃d postea p̃fati Joh̃es Stopyndon ⁊ Walꝑus Urry obierunt post quoꝫ mortem p̃dc̃i epī Rađus Ricūs Galfr̃us Ricūs ⁊ Joh̃es Wodye ꝑ cartam suam triptitam indentatam cujus dať est duodecimo die Julii anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conq̃m vicesimo quinto juř p̃dc̃is sup capcōem hujus Inquiš siťiť in evidenc̃ ostenš concesserunt inꝑ alia q̃d dc̃a ꝑcia pars duaꝫ ꝑtiū reddiť p̃dc̃i cum ꝑtiñ quam p̃dc̃us Rolandus tunc tenuit ad ꝑn̄ vite sne in forma p̃dc̃a ⁊ que post mortem ejusdem Rolandi eis remanere deberet post mortem ejusdem Rolandi remaneret Rob̃to Wyngefeld Humfr̃o Stafford de Grafton Henr̃ Inglese Thome Parre Joh̃i Scudamore militibꝫ Rob̃to Danby ꝑvienti ad legem Joh̃i Lematon Edo Stapilton Henr̃ Bindfeld clico Witto Brandoñ Thome Fitz Herry Nic̃o Girlyngton Joh̃i Tympley ⁊ Thome Strangweys hered ⁊ assign̄ suis imꝑꝑm virtute cujus quid̃m concessionis p̃fatꝰ Rolandus postea p̃dc̃is Rob̃to Humfrido Henrico Thome Joh̃i Scudamore Rob̃to Joh̃i Lematon Edo Henrico Witto Thome Nic̃o Joh̃i Tympley ⁊ Thome de ⁊ ꝑ eađm ꝑcia ꝑte duaꝫ ꝑtiū redditus p̃dc̃i cū ꝑtiñ attornavit. Et postea p̃dc̃i Humfridus ⁊ Joh̃es Lematon obierunt. Postmodumꝙ p̃dc̃us Rolandus de tali statu obiit sc̃itus de dc̃a ꝑcia ꝑte duaꝫ partiū redditus p̃dc̃i cum ꝑtiñ. Post cujus mortem eađm ꝑcia pars duaꝫ partiū redditus p̃dc̃i cum ꝑtiñ p̃fatis Rob̃to Henrico Thome Joh̃i Scudamore Rob̃to Edo Henr̃ Witto Thome Nic̃o Joh̃i Tympley ⁊ Thome hered ⁊ assign̄ suis virtute p̃dc̃e concessionis eis ꝑ p̃fat̃ epos Rađm Ric̃m Galfridum Ric̃m ⁊ Joh̃em Wodye inde confecte remanere debet. Et ulťius dic̃ juř p̃dc̃i sup sacr̃m suū q̃d eađm ꝑcia pars duaꝫ partium redditus p̃dc̃i cum ꝑtiñ vał ꝑ annum in omnibꝫ exiť suis juxta verum valorem ejusd̃m ultra repriš viij.š. x.đ. Et q̃d eađm ꝑcia pars duaꝫ ꝑtiū redditus p̃dc̃i cū ꝑtiñ teneꝑ de đno Rege in capite ꝑ ꝑvicium tricesime ptꝭ uniꝰ feodi militis. Insup juř p̃dc̃i dicunt sup sacr̃m suum q̃d p̃dc̃i Rolandus ⁊ Margareta in jure ejusd̃m Margarete nup fueř sc̃iti in d̃nico suo ut de feodo de ꝑcia ꝑte ꝑcie ꝑtis tolnetoꝫ ⁊ custum̃ in Villa de Suthwerk in comm̃ p̃dc̃o quoquomodo ꝑvenienc̃ et de ꝑcia ꝑte viginti ⁊ quinq̄ solidať ⁊ quatuor denariať redditus assise annuatim ꝓcipiend de div̄s t̄r̃ ⁊ teñ cum ꝑtiñ in Suthwerk p̃dicť ꝑ manus diverš tenenciū ib̃m ad festa sup^a dc̃a ꝑ equales porciones et de ꝑcia ꝑte unius teñ unius acre ꝑre ⁊ unius acre p^a ti cum ꝑtiñ in Suthwerk p̃dicť ⁊ in Camwell in com̃ p̃dc̃o ; et sic inde se ti

hūerunt exitum p̄dc̄m Edmundum Lenthale armig̃um; et postea p̄dc̄a Margareta obiit. Post cujus mortem dcus Rolandus se tenuit in dc̄a ꝑcia pte ꝑcie partis tolnetoꝝ ꝯ custum̃ p̄dict̄ cum ꝑtiñ ac in ꝑciis ꝑtibꝫ redditus teñ ꝑre ⁊ prati p̄dict̄ cum ꝑtiñ ꝑ legem Anglie revꝭ inde post decessum dc̄i Rolandi p̄fato Edo ⁊ hered suis imꝑp̄m spectant̄. Posteaq̄ p̄dc̄us Edus obiit sine her̄ de corpe suo. Et p̄dc̄us Rolandus de tali statu obiit sc̄itus de dc̄a ꝑcia pte ꝑcie ptis tolnet̄ ꝯ custum̃ p̄dict̄, ac de dc̄a ꝑcia pte redditus teñ ꝑre ꝯ p"ti p̄dict̄ cum ptiñ; et q̄d Johes nunc Dux Norff' ꝯ Georgius Neville sunt consanguinei ⁊ her̄ p̄dc̄i Edi ꝑpinquiores videꝭt dictus dux filius Johis nuꝑ ducis Norff' filii Elizabeth nuꝑ ducisse Norff' unius soroꝝ ꝯ her̄ p̄dc̄i Thome nuꝑ Comitis Arundell fratris p̄dc̄e Margarete matris p̄dc̄i Edmundi; et p̄dc̄us Georgius filius Elizabeth nuꝑ dne Bergevenny filie Ric̄i nuꝑ Comitis Wigorn̄ filii Johanne nuꝑ dne Bergevenny alꝑius soroꝝ ⁊ her̄ p̄dc̄i Thome nuꝑ Comitis fr̄is p̄dc̄e Margarete matris p̄dc̄i Edmundi. Et dic̄ q̄d p̄dc̄us nunc dux Norff' est etatis triginta annoꝝ ꝯ amplius; et q̄d p̄dc̄us Georgius fuit etatis decem ⁊ septem annoꝝ in festo Natalis D'ni ultimo ꝑ̄ito. Dicunt etiam dci Jur̄ q̄d dc̄a ꝑcia ps ꝑcie partis tolnet̄ ꝯ custum̃ p̄dict̄ cum ptiñ vat̄ ꝑ annū in om̃ibꝫ exitibꝫ juxta verum valorem ejusdm ultra repriꝭ iij.ꝭ. iiij.d; et q̄d dc̄a ꝑcia pars redditus p̄dc̄i vat̄ ꝑ annū ultra repriꝭ viij.ꝭ. vj.d. ꝑc̄pt deñ; et q̄d p̄dc̄a ꝑcia pars teñ terr̄ ꝯ prati p̄dict̄ cum ptiñ valet ꝑ annū in om̃ibꝫ exit̄ juxta verum valorem ejusdm ultra repriꝭ vj.ꝭ. viij.d. Et q̄d dc̄a ꝑcia pars ꝑcie partis tolnet̄ ꝯ custum̃ p̄dict̄ ac dc̄a ꝑcia pars redditus p̄dict̄ tenēt̄ de dno Rege in capite ꝑ ꝟviciū vicesime p̄t̄ uni° feod milit̄. Dicunt insuꝑ dict̄ jur̄ supꝑ sacr̄m suum q̄d dc̄a ꝑcia pars teñ terre ꝯ prati p̄dict̄ cū ptiñ non tenet" de dno Rege sed de quo vel de quibus aut ꝑ que ꝟvic̄ cadm̃ ꝑcia pars teñ terre ꝯ prati p̄dict̄ cum ptiñ tenet̄ dc̄i jur̄ dic̄ q̄d ipi penitus ignorant. Itm dicunt jur̄ p̄dc̄i supꝑ sacr̄m suū q̄d Clemens Bysshopp nuꝑ fuit seis̄ in dnico suo ut de feodo de uno teñ cū gardino adjacente ꝯ ceꝑis suis ptiñ in ꝑochia Sc̄i Olavi in Suthwerk p̄dict̄ ⁊ idm teñ cum gardino ⁊ ceꝑis suis ptiñ tenuit de Johe duce Norff' Edwardo dño de Bergevenny et de p̄fato Rolando ꝑ fidelitatem ꝯ redditum tresdecim solid ⁊ quatuor denar̄ ſterlingoꝝ annuatim solvend ad festa Pasche ⁊ Sc̄i Michis ꝑ equales porciones. Et sic inde sc̄itus idm teñ cū gardino ꝯ ceꝑis suis ptiñ dimisit ꝯ tradidit Johi Tasburgh Johi Stokes clico ꝯ cuid"m Agneti Jenkyn hēnd ꝯ tenend eisdm Johi Tasburgh Johi Stokes ꝯ Agneti hered ꝯ assign̄ p̄dc̄oꝝ Johis Tasburgh ꝯ Johis Stokes imꝑp̄m. Virtute quaꝝ dimissionis ⁊ tradic̄ois p̄fati Johes Tasburgh Johes Stokes ꝯ Agnes de dco teñ cum gardino ⁊ suis ptiñ fuerunt sc̄iti videꝭt p̄dc̄i Johes Tasburgh ꝯ Johes Stokes in dnico suo ut de feodo ⁊ p̄dca Agnes in dnico suo ut de liᵬo teñ. Dicunt eciam jur̄ p̄dci q̄d postea p̄dci Johes Tasburgh ꝯ Johes Stokes statum suū de ꝯ in dco teñ cum gardino ꝯ suis ptiñ continuantes obierunt sc̄iti; et q̄d eadm Agnes eosdm Johem Tasburgh ꝯ Johem Stokes supvixit et teñ pdict̄ occupavit; ac eciam q̄d eadm Agnes eo q̄d ipa oriunda fuit in Wallia fuit inabilis ad pquirend ⁊ hend aliqua terras seu teñ infra regnū Anglie ꝑt in diꝟsis statutis ꝑantea editis factis ⁊ ꝟvisis plenius continent". Quo p̄textu p̄dcus Rolandus in ꝑciam ptem teñ p̄dci cū gardino ꝯ ceꝑis suis ptiñ intravit ꝯ ilꝭ tenuit ⁊ occupavit tota vita sua et inde obiit sc̄itus post cujus mortem dca ꝑcia pars teñ p̄dci cum gardino ꝯ ceꝑis suis ptiñ remanere debet p̄fatis nunc duci Norff' ⁊ Georgio ut consanguineis ⁊ hered p̄dc̄i Edi in forma sup"dc̄a. Et q̄d dc̄a ꝑcia pars dc̄i teñ cū gardino ⁊ suis ptiñ valet ꝑ annū in om̃ibꝫ exit̄ ultra repriꝭ xiij.ꝭ. iiij.d. et non tenet" de dño Rege sed de quo vel de quibꝫ tenet" penitus ignorant. Dicunt eciam jur̄ p̄dc̄i q̄d p̄dc̄us Rolandus nulla alia sive plura terr̄ aut teñ tenuit die quo obiit in com̃ p̄dc̄o in dñico nec in ꝟvicio de dc̄o dño Rege

nec de aliquib3 aliis. Et dicunt q̄d p̄dc̄us Rolandus obiit die d̄nica p̄x ante festum Sc̄e Kat̄ine Virginis ultimo p̄t̄it̄; et q̄d Rolandus Lenthale armig̃ est filius 7 heres dc̄i Rolandi ꝑpinquior 7 est etatis viginti 7 quinq; annoꝝ 7 amplius. In cujus rei testiō̄iū jur̄ p̄dc̄i huic Inquis̄ sigilla sua apposuerunt. Dat̄ loco die 7 anno sup^a^scriptis.

No. II.

2ª pars Pat̄. de anno R. R. Hen. VIII. 12°.

P. Ric̄o Panell et aliis de concedend̄ ꝑras in manū mortuā.

Rex omnib3 ad quos, &c. salt̄m. Sciatis q̄d nos ex ᵓcta scientia 7 mero motu ñris concessim⁹ et licentiam dedim⁹ ac p̄ p̄sentes ꝑ nob 7 hered̄ ñris quantum in nob est concedim⁹ 7 licentiam dam⁹ dil̄cis nob Ric̄o Panell, Joh̄i Clerke, Joh̄i Lovekyn 7 Ade Byston q̄d i͛p̄i et hered̄ sui unū messuag̃ duas opellas et quandam ꝑcellam ꝑre cum ꝑtineñ contineñ in longitudine int̄ ꝑtem borialem et ꝑtem australem quindecim virgat̄ septem pedes 7 sex pollices, et in latitudine int̄ orientem 7 occident̄ decem particat̄ 7 quinque pedes situat̄ 7 existeñ in parochia Sc̄i Olavi Regis in Suthwerke in com̄ ñro Surr̄ ad teñt̄ Prioris 7 Conventus de Lewes ᵓsus Est 7 South; ad teñt̄ Willi Braunche 7 teñt̄ Prioris 7 Conventus B̄e Marie Oᵓvey in Southwerke 7 teñt̄ Hospitalis Sc̄i Thome Martiris de Suthwerke ᵓsus West; ad teñt̄ eoꝝdem Prioris 7 Conventus B̄e Marie Oᵓvey ad regiam stratam ducent̄ a Ponte Londoñ ᵓsus eccl̄am paroch̄ Sc̄i Olavi Regis in Suthwerke p̄dict̄ in com̄ p̄dc̄o 7 ad teñt̄ Thome Thatcher ᵓsus North que de nob imediat̄ non tenent^r cujuscumque fuⁱint annui valoris, dare possint dil̄co nob Jacobo Denton c̄lico rectori p̄dc̄e eccl̄ie parochialis Sc̄i Olavi 7 de teñt̄ illis p̄dm̄ r̄corem feoffare hēnd̄ sibi 7 successorib3 suis in ꝑpt̄m, tam ꝑtem inde ꝑ cimetorio 7 sepultura corpor̄ sive cadaver̄ Xp̄ianoꝝ inibi faciend̄ q̄m p̄fic̄ et revenc̄ resid̄ inde ad opus ornamentor̄ et reparac̄ ejusdem eccl̄ie disponend̄, p̄fat̄q; rectori q̄d i͛p̄e teñt̄ p̄dct̄ū cum ꝑtineñ de p̄fat̄ Ric̄o Panell, Joh̄e Clerke, Joh̄e Lovekyn, 7 Ade Byston, vel hered̄ suis tenend̄ eidem rectori 7 successorib3 in forma p̄dc̄a 7 talem ꝑcellam inde coꝝdm teñt̄ qualem eidem rectori 7 successorib3 suis videbit̄ fieri sc̄ificari 7 in cemitoriū 7 sepulturā ut p̄dc̄m est conᵓti et illi sic uti 7 tenere ac residuū inde 7 revenc̄ sive p̄fic̄ ejusdm ad opus et usum ornament̄ et repac̄ eccl̄ie p̄dc̄e tenere 7 habere possint 7 valeant possit et valeat licenciam similit̄ dedim̄ ac damus sp̄alem stat̄ de tr̄is et teñ ad manū mortuam non ponend̄ aut de teñt̄ non sanctificand̄ seu in cemitoriū sive sepultur̄ parochiat̄ redigend̄ aut aliquo alio statuto actu ꝑvisione proclamac̄oe ordinac̄oe seu aliqua alia causa re vel mat̄ia quacumque in contr̄ ante hec tempora edit̄ fact̄ ordinat̄ sive ꝑvis̄ non obstañ. Et hec omnia 7 singula absque aliquo br̄e ñro de ad q̄d dampnū vel aliquo b̄ri sive mandato ñro ꝑsequend̄ obtinend̄ sive h̄end̄. Eo q̄d expressa mentio de ᵓo valore annuo aut de ᵓctitudine p̄missoꝝ in p̄sent̄ minime fact̄ existit. In cujus, &c. Test̄ R. apud Westm̄ quinto die Decembr̄.

P centū solid̄ solut̄ in Hanapio.
P br̄e de privato sigillo 7 de dat̄, &c.

IV.—"*Furca et Fossa:*" *A Review of certain modes of Capital Punishment in the Middle Ages.* *By* JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, *Secretary.*

Read 3 June, 1858.

In an age when the voice of philanthropy is raised against the extreme penalty of the law, an inquiry into the origin and practice of certain modes of capital punishment, now obsolete, but long known to our ancestors, may not be deemed unworthy the attention of this Society.

Among the manorial rights enumerated in some of our earlier charters, are those of *Furca* and *Fossa*, or Gallows and Pit, two modes of capital punishment, of which the former continues to this day, while the latter appears to have been abolished, or to have fallen into disuse, several centuries ago.

Modern refinement, which regards with disgust the coarseness and brutality of past ages, will scarcely allow that our ancestors were actuated by feelings of delicacy in condemning women to be drowned instead of being hung as men; but such appears to have been the fact. It is probably to be ascribed to that reverence for the female sex which was a characteristic of the Teutonic race. Though the criminal had transgressed the law, and brought condign punishment upon herself, her execution was conducted in a manner the least offensive to feminine delicacy. I am, however, at a loss for authorities for the period when the permanent change to hanging took place, although the chroniclers afford us a few incidents which leave room for the inference that its final adoption may be referred to the middle of the fifteenth century.[a]

In the 46th year of Henry III. we find that Ivetta de Balsham received a pardon because, having been hung for a certain felony from *hora nona* on Monday till sunrise on Tuesday, she yet lived.[b] Ducange cites an instance of the hanging of a woman at Limoges in the year 1414. The criminal is sentenced *a estre et morir pendue.*[c] In the reign of Charles the Seventh a woman was hung

[a] May it be referred to the growing power of the Turks in Europe, and the desire to abolish in Christendom a mode of execution practised even to this day by that people?

[b] Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 34 b.

[c] Gloss. *v.* FOSSA.

at Paris, and the novelty of this mode of execution brought together a vast concourse of people, especially of females. The manner in which the criminal was prepared for the gibbet is particularly described by the chronicler:—"La dite femme fut pendue toute deschevellée, revestue d'une longue robe ceinte d'une corde sur les deux iambes iointes par ensemble au dessous de genoux."[a]

According to Tacitus, hanging and drowning were the punishments usually awarded to the greatest criminals by the ancient Germans. "Traitors and deserters," he says, "they hang on trees; the coward and the infamous are plunged under hurdles into bogs and fens."[b] By the laws of the Burgundians, the adulterous woman was smothered in mud.[c] Grimm informs us that the punishment of drowning was awarded especially to women and sorceresses. To hinder swimming, stones were fastened to the neck of the criminal. Criminals were sometimes drowned in tubs or sewn up in sacks, a punishment for murderers of parents or relations. In this case the offender was sewn up in a skin with a dog, a snake, an ape, and a cock. So late as 1734, in Saxony, a woman was thus drowned with a cat, a dog, and a snake, for the murder of her child.[d]

Our Anglo-Saxon forefathers awarded the punishment of death by drowning to women convicted of theft. The criminal was to be thrown from the cliff or submerged,[e] the precise manner of execution being adapted to the district in which the offence was perpetrated, as we shall see hereafter.

In the tenth century a widow was drowned at London Bridge[f]; and the learned Spelman cites an instance of this description of punishment in the year 1200, from the records of the Cathedral of Rochester. Two women came to the town of Southfleet, in Kent, bringing with them many cloths which they had stolen from the town of Croydon. They were followed by the owners of the cloths, and, being taken and imprisoned, were adjudged by the court of Southfleet to carry hot iron. One of the offenders was acquitted, and the other

[a] Histoire de Charles VII. Roi de France, par Jean Chartier, &c. Paris, fol. 1661, sub anno 1449.

[b] Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt; ignavos, et imbelles, et corpore infames cœno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt.—De Morib. German. c. xii.

[c] Si qua mulier maritum suum, cui legitimè juncta est, dimiserit, *necetur in luto*.—Lex Burgund. Tit. xxxiv. 1.

[d] Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer, p. 696. Gottenb. 1828. This mode of punishment appears to have been derived from the *Lex Cornelia*.

[e] Si libera mulier sit precipitetur de clivo, vel submergatur.—Leg. Æthelbert. Ancient Laws and Institutes, ed. Thorpe.

[f] Đa nam man ðæt wif and ādrencte hî æt Lundenebrigee, and hire sune ætberst and werð ûtlâh. Cod. Dipl. Ævi Saxon. No. DXCI.—MS. Soc. Ant. Lond. LX. fo. 54 b.

was forthwith drowned in a pond called Bikepole. The judges were Sir Henry de Cobham and many other eminent men of the country.[a]

Stowe, in his Survey of London, says, "By S. Giles Churchyard was a large water called a Poole: I read in the yeere 1244 that Ann of Lodbury was drowned therein."[b] The worthy old chronicler does not tell us that this woman was judicially put to death, but the manner in which he relates the circumstance leads us to infer that she was a criminal condemned to that mode of punishment. There was water adapted for this purpose in Smithfield, a very ancient place of execution; and the circumstance, that Tybourn and St. Thomas-a-Watering were both places of execution, may be ascribed to the fact of their offering facilities for either manner of death.

In these three cases the criminals were women; but this description of punishment was also awarded to offenders of the male sex. When the English set sail for the Holy Land, Richard the First published an edict for the preservation of order in his army. He who killed another, while the expedition was afloat, was to be bound to the corpse and thrown into the sea. If the homicide occurred on land, the slayer and the slain were to be bound together and buried in the same grave.[c] Of these two modes of punishment the latter, at least, was known in the English army as recent as the year 1422. At the siege of Meaux by Henry V. a party of English soldiers was surprised and cut off. One man only escaped by flight, and he was forthwith condemned, by the English King, to be buried alive with his slain comrades.[d]

That drowning and burying alive were common punishments of malefactors of either sex we find in the Annals of Sandwich under the year 1313, when the jury of the hundred of Cornylo present before Henry de Stantone and other justices itinerant, at their session at Canterbury, that the Prior of Christ Church had, for nine years past, obstructed the high road leading from Dover Castle to Sandwich by the sea-shore, by means of a water-mill, which the Prior had erected at Lidene; and that the said Prior, ten years before, had diverted the course of a certain stream called the Gestlyng, where felons condemned to death within the hundred should be drowned, but could not be executed in that way for want of water.[e]

It appears also from the Custumal of Sandwich that there was formerly a spot near that town called Thieves-downs, in which criminals were buried alive.[f]

[a] Spelman, Glossarium Archæologicum, *v. Furca et Fossa.* [b] Edit. 1633, p. 11.

[c] Qui hominem in navi interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus projiciatur in mare. Si autem eum ad terram interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus in terrâ infodiatur.—Hoveden, sub anno.

[d] Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne, sub anno 1422. [e] Boys, Hist. of Sandwich, p. 664.

[f] Et omnes qui condempnati sunt in illo casu debent vivi sepeliri in loco ad hoc deputato super Sandoune,

The Custumals of all the Cinque Ports—at least such of the earlier ones as have come down to us—distinctly describe the punishment of drowning. That of Pevensey directs that the criminal, if of the franchise, shall be precipitated into the sea at high-water; but, if of the geldable, he is to be hung in a place called the Wahstrew.[a]

The Custumal of Dover says,—"All they that suffer death shall be led to a cliff called *Sharpness;* and, if he be attaint at the suit of the party, the appellor shall put him to execution; and if he be attaint of the King, the Bailiff shall do it."[b] The convict was therefore precipitated from the cliff into the sea,—a perilous duty in the case of an obstinate and resolute felon. This mode of execution is termed by Ralph de Hengham *Infalistatio.*[c]

At Hastings and at Winchelsea drowning appears to have been the sole mode of capital punishment.[d]

Harrison, in his "Description of Britain," enumerates the following among other punishments which once obtained in this country:—"Such as havinge wals and bankes neare the sea, and doe suffer the same to decaie, after con-

qui vocatur le Thiefdounes; et est area ipsa communitatis propria qualitercunque fuerit per alios appropriata.—Boys' History of Sandwich, p. 465.

[a] Et si cely qest dampne soit de la Franchise, il sera amene au pount de la ville a la pleigne meer, et outr le pount botu en le havene: et sil soit del Geldable, sera suspenduz deyns la Lewe en certain lui appelle le Wahstrew [ewealmstow ?].—Custumal of Pevensey. Sussex Arch. Collections, vol. iv. p. 213.

[b] Lyon's Hist. of Dover, p. 272.

[c] Infalistatio. This word is found in a curious passage in the Summa Parva of Ralph de Hengham, ch. iii. . . . . Commisit feloniam, ob quam fuit suspensus, utlagatus, vel alio modo mortis damnatus, vel demembratus, vel apud Dovere Infalistatus, vel apud Southampton submersus, &c. The learned Selden (who in some degree misunderstood the meaning of *falaise*, which really signifies the cliff,) observes on this: "It appears that several customs of places made in those days capital punishments several. But what is *infalistatus?* In regard it is of a custom used in a port town, I suppose it was made out of the French word *falaise*, which is, *fine sand by the water side;* or, *a bank of the sea;* in this sand, or bank, it seems their execution at *Dover* was. In this place, the copies vary, no one having all the punishments, but for the rarity of the remembrance, I took out of divers copies all these. The old *English* translation here helped not."—Notes on Hengham's Summa, Works, iii. pt. ii. p. 1926. We have followed Selden in the use of Infalistatio, but, among the numerous MSS. of the Summa in the British Museum, are some in which the derivation is more obvious. Ducange, *v.* Infalistatio, says, "Ubi Editor ac Interpres vocem à *Falaisiis*, seu marinis aggeribus deducit quod apud Dubrenses felones in *Falaisiis* extremo supplicio afficerentur: quo casu legendam esset *Infalisiatus.*" A suggestion supported by the MSS. in question, some of which have phalizatus, infalisatus, and infalesatus, while others have the word in a more corrupt form. Scarcely two of the MSS. agree. In one of them Winchelsea is substituted for Southampton.

[d] Omnes autem condempnati in isto casu jactari debent ultra quoddam Clued' vocatum Stordisdale ex parte occidentali villæ versus Bolewarhethe.—Usages de Hastynges, 1357. For the inspection of a transcript of this Custumal, my acknowledgments are due to Mr. W. Durrant Cooper.

venient admonition, wherebye the water entereth and drowneth up the country, are, by a certaine custome, apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breache, where they remaine for ever as parcell of the new wal."[a]

This savours of the truculent spirit of the ancient Frisian Law, which condemned the criminal who had been found guilty of sacrilege to mutilation and death on the sea-shore, where he was immolated to the gods whose temple he had violated.[b]

We read in the Chronicle of Hector Boethius, that the right of pit and gallows was given by Malcolm Canmore to the Barons of Scotland:—"Constitutum quoque est eodem consilio à rege, uti Barones omnes puteos faciendi ad condemnatas plectendas fœminas, ac patibulum ad viros suspendendos noxios, potestatem haberent."[c]

This passage is thus rendered in Bellenden's translation:—"It was ordanit als be the said coũsal that free baronis sal mak jebattis and draw wellis for punition of criminabyl personis."[d]

But although drowning was the punishment usually awarded to women in Scotland, the sentence was sometimes extended to the other sex. Thus, in the year 1556, Adam Sinclair, convicted of stealing money, chalices, and church ornaments from the parish church of Forrese, was sentenced to be drowned *ex speciali gratia Reginæ*. Pitcairn remarks, that this was perhaps owing to his youth, or at his own request.

In 1599 Grissell Mathou is condemned by the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh "to be tane to the North Loch, and thair drownit quhill scho be deid."[e]

As late as 1611 James Watsoun was drowned in the Scotish capital for stealing a lamb.[f]

Sir Edward Coke observes, that the punishment of drowning had, at the time he wrote, become obsolete in England; but he affords us no clue to the period when it was abolished. I am indebted to Mr. W. Durrant Cooper for the suggestion that the charter of Edward the Fourth to the Cinque Port towns, granting, among other privileges, that of *Furca*, abolished the ancient mode of punishment

[a] Book 2, ch. ii.

[b] Qui fanum effregerit, et ibi aliquid de sacris tulerit, ducitur ad mare, et in sabulo, quod accessus maris operire solet, finduntur aures ejus, et castratur, et immolatur Diis quorum templa violavit.—Lex Frisionum Addit. Sap. Tit. xii. De honore templorum. Corp. Juris Germ. Antiq. ed. Walter, tom. i. p. 374.

[c] Scot. Hist. Lib. xii. p. 256, ed. Paris.

[d] Fol. 78.

[e] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 94.

[f] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 208.

by drowning. The right of Furca was, in fact, a part of the *Regalia*, or rights of royalty, possessed by the Anglo-Saxon kings as inheritors of the old Germanic priesthood.[a]

It would appear from many passages in the older chroniclers, that, among the Northern nations, the punishment of a criminal often combined at once an execution and a sacrifice to their gods. This is apparent, not only from the *Land nama Bok*, in which Odin is styled Hango, and Galgavalldr,[b] *i. e.* Lord of the Gallows, but also from the Frisian law already referred to. The great sacrifice of the Danes recorded by Ditmar, when ninety-nine men, and the same number of horses, dogs, and cocks, the last in the place of hawks, were offered up at one time at Lethra, in the Island of Seland,[c] was doubtless of the same character. A like combination was to be seen in that hideous grove near the Temple at Upsala, described by Adam of Bremen, where the bodies of men, horses, and dogs were hung together on the trees. Here too was a well, into which living men were plunged and drowned to deprecate the wrath of the gods.[d]

In the Chronicle of Jean Juvenal des Ursins, under the year 1417, we find an account of the profligacy of the court of the French Queen, of the singular extravagances in costume, and of the irregularities of certain men of rank, among whom was one named Bourrodon, who, admitting the truth of the accusations preferred against him, was ignominiously executed by drowning in the Seine. That this mode of punishment was usually awarded in France to criminals of the lowest class is shown by the application of the phrase *gens de sac et de corde*, to common malefactors in those days.[e]

Numerous examples of drowning are recorded in the French Chronicles, but the most horrible are those mentioned by Sauval, who tells us that in the year 1441 such of the English prisoners taken at Pontoise as were unable to obtain their ransom were mercilessly drowned by their captors.[f] We learn from this writer that in Paris criminals were executed at the Pont au Change.[g]

[a] Omnia qualstowa [cwealmstowa], i. occidendorum loca, totaliter regis sunt, in soca sua. Leg. Hen. l. c. x. ed. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 519.

[b] Comp. pp. 176, 361, 412, and 417, Islands Landnama Bok. 4to. Haun. 1770.

[c] —— post hoc tempus, quo nos Theophaniam Domini celebramus, omnes conveniunt, et ibi diis suismet LXXXX. et novem homines, et totidem equos cum canibus, et gallis, pro accipitribus oblatis, immolant, pro certo, ut prædixi, putantes hos eisdem [erga inferos servituros et commissa crimina apud eos] placaturos.—Ditmarus, apud Script. Rer. Brunswic, ed. Leibnitzii, tom. i. p. 327, Hanov. 1710.

[d] Ibi [Ubsola] etiam est fons, ubi sacrificia paganorum solent exerceri et homo vivus immergi.—Adam Bremen. Lib. iv. Schol. 134.

[e] Sauval, Ant. de Paris, ii. p. 597. [f] Ib. loc. cit. [g] Ib. loc. cit.

I am informed by Dr. Leemans, of Leyden, that the last instance of the punishment of drowning in the island of Iceland was in the year 1777. In Austria it appears to have ceased a year earlier, when two women were drowned in Meinersen. In Russia it was abolished in the early part of the eighteenth century.

In a volume entitled "*Scaligerana*, ou Bons Mots avec des Notes de Mons. Le Fevre et Mons. de Calomies,"[a] we find the following:—

"On executa (noya) lors que j'etais à Geneve une jeune femme pour adultère. Elle estoit jolie et brunette. Les ministres en pleuroyient quasi. Monsieur Tremblay me le reconta, car je n'ay pas le cœur d'aller voir faire execution." This must have taken place between 1590 and 1610.

Our honorary Fellow, M. Troyon, has kindly favoured me with the following particulars of this punishment in Switzerland, communicated to him by his friend Professor Cellérier:—

"Voici les faits extraits d'anciens recueils de Genève.

"En 1609 Marie Vaudan, de Vienne en Dauphiné, pour ses adultères et lubricités, fut condamnée à être liée et menée au port d'Longemalle, et là être noyée et submergée, façon accoutumée, etc.

"En 1619 Alexandra Maguin de Genève, pour avoir souvent commis paillardise, et ensuite tué l'enfant dont elle était accouchée, fut condamnée à être liée et menée en la place de Longemalle, et de là être jetée et noyée dans le fleuve du Rhone, façon accoutumée, etc.

"On peut observer qu'à cette époque, il n'y avait point de code général, ni même de tribunaux proprement dits. C'est le Conseil d'Etat qui jugeait, avec appel au Conseil Souverain des Deux Cents. Il était d'usage de punir l'impurité simple de prison au pain et à l'eau, l'adultère et l'infanticide de mort. Les prostituées de profession qui s'introduisaient dans la ville (aucune n'y était tolérée) etaient noyées, *façon accoutumée*, surtout quand il s'y joignait adultère ou infanticide, comme dans les cas précédents. Il me parait certain qu'aucune exécution de ce genre n'eût lieu postérieurement à 1619. Ces supplices cessèrent à-peu-près en même temps que ceux des sorciers, dont le dernier eut lieu en 1626, sauf une condamnation analogue qui se rencontre encore en 1652, mais avec circonstances qui indiquent que l'opinion avait changée ou changeait."

We here perceive that ancient usage common at one time to every nation of Teutonic race, and recognised by a well known authority.[b]

[a] Cologne, 12mo. 1695, p. 5.

[b] Consuetudo verò quandoque pro lege observatur, in partibus ubi fuerit more utentium approbata, et

Lersner[a] gives us a grim catalogue of the public executions at Frankfort from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, among which are many drownings. The executions took place in the river, and the criminal was thrown from the bridge. In some instances, out of regard to the feelings of family connexions, to avoid the ignominy of a public execution, the sentence was carried into effect at night. Murder, bigamy, robbery, sorcery, forging, and cheating at cards and dice, were alike punished by drowning, which was awarded to offenders of either sex. The bodies of the drowned were sometimes buried near the spot to which they had drifted.[b]

In 1536 the body of a citizen who had murdered his wife and hung himself was ordered to be inclosed in a tun and thrown into the river; but, if the water of the Maine were too low, it was to be buried near the Knacker House.[c]

A memorable instance of drowning occurred in Bavaria in the fifteenth century. On the 14th of October, 1436, Agnes Bernauerinn, wife of Duke Albert the Pious, was thrown off the bridge of the city of Straubing into the Danube by order of her father, Ernest Duke of Bavaria. She appears not to have been put into a sack, and her limbs not to have been securely bound, for she rose to the surface of the water and swam to the shore, crying "Help! help!" but the executioner put a long pole into her hair and kept her down.[d]

The most memorable instance of drowning in Bohemia is that of John Nepomuk, Canon of Prague, who, on the 28th of April, 1383, was, by order of king Wenceslas, thrown off the bridge of that city. He was confessor to the Queen, and was thus punished for not revealing the secrets of the confessional. The event made a deep impression on the popular mind, and it is said that five stars appeared in the water as he fell. Nepomuk was beatified in 1720, and canonized on the 19th of May, 1729.

Here we may remark that in these cases the criminals were precipitated from the bridges and not from the bank of the river. The bridge was probably selected

vicem legis obtinet, longevi enim temporis usus et consuetudinis non est vilis authoritas.—Bracton, de Legibus, lib. i. cap. 3, fo. 2.

[a] Frankfurter Chronik, Band ii. xxxiv. Capitel.

[b] Ib. loc. cit. sub anno 1506. Hans Sebald Beham, the engraver, is said, by his biographers, to have been put to death in this way at Frankfort, but we can find no mention of his execution in the Chronicle of Lersner.

[c] Ib. sub anno 1536. The horse-slaughterer of the city was also the public executioner.

[d] The Life of Agnes was published at Munich by F. I. Lipowsky in 1801. It is illustrated by a plate of her tomb, well executed, but the portrait facing the title-page is that of a lady in the costume of the seventeenth century!

in accordance with inveterate heathen superstition. It is remarkable that among the nations of classical antiquity, Pontifex (the bridge builder,) should be the name for the priestly order. Kemble observes, that the erection of a bridge was with the Franks one of the rights of royalty, and that the structure had "probably something of a holy character, and stood in near relation to the priesthood."[a] In Germany we are told the Spirit of the Bridge still demands its victims.[b] The consecration of chapels on those structures, where the criminal's last shrift was probably made, has not obliterated the manifest traces of heathenism which yet linger in the countries of Europe.

The *Carolina*, or Codex Criminalis Imperatoris Caroli V., the fundamental law for the Criminal Courts of Germany from the year 1532 to the end of the Empire, ordains the punishment of drowning for parricide[c] in such places as have the means of carrying it into effect, and, for such as have not the means, directs the burial alive of the criminal, after which a stake was to be driven through the earth into his breast. This recals the barbarous practice until lately observed at the burial of the *felo de se* in England.

By the ancient Danish laws, women convicted of theft were condemned to be buried alive,[d] a mode of punishment not unknown in France. In the year 1331 Marote Duflos, "on suspicion of larceny," was scourged and subjected to this cruel death at Abbeville;[e] and we read in the Scandalous Chronicle, under the year 1460, that a woman named Perette Mauger, a notorious thief and receiver of stolen goods, was, by order of the Provost of Paris, buried alive in front of the gibbet in that city.[f] The grim functionary had precedents[g] for this mode of execution, which we may suppose had been long disused, for we are told that it created a great sensation in Paris. It would appear to have been resorted to only

[a] The Saxons in England, book ii. ch. 2. [b] Grimm, D. M. p. 563.

[c] Brantome, Vie des dames Galantes, Discours vii^e^. intimates that it was the punishment of offenders of another description: "Les plus grandes et superbes dames disent à leurs galands inferieurs: 'Donnez vous bien de garde d'en dire un mot, tant seul soit-il, autrement il vous va de la vie: Je vous feray jetter en sac dans l'eau, ou je vous feray couper les jarretz.'"

[d] —— "mulieres pro furto non debent suspendi, sed humari debeant." Jus-Danic. apud Ludewig.—Vide Ducange, Gloss. v. "Humari."

[e] Ducange, v. "Infoditus."

[f] See "Le Chronique du Roy Louys XI. autrement dicte Le Chronique Scandaleuse," sub anno 1460.

[g] Sauval gives a list of criminals who suffered this punishment at Paris, among whom is Marie de Romainville, "soupçonnée de larein," in 1295, and Amelotte de Christeuil, for robbery, in 1302. An individual named Prevot, found guilty of perjury, was sentenced by Philip Augustus to be buried alive.—Sauval, Hist. et Ant. de la Ville de Paris, tome ii. p. 594.

on occasions when the authorities were desirous of inflicting the extreme penalty with every mark of ignominy. At Franckfort, in the year 1638, a criminal was "unter den Galgen gerichtet und daselbsten begraben." [a]

We have few details of the manner in which the punishments of drowning and burying alive were effected; and probably the most authentic illustrations may be found in the representations of martyrdoms in ancient MSS., where the saint is seen precipitated into the river, or lowered into a draw-well; but the following account, in the Transactions of the Society of Northern Antiquaries,[b] affords a graphic sketch of the manner in which the criminal was sometimes consigned to the earth when buried alive.[c]

On the 20th of October, 1835, some labourers were engaged in digging a boundary-trench through the moor near Haraldskiær, in the district of Veile, in North Jutland, when one of them, at the depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ell under the surface of the ground, observed an arm and a foot of a human body. The next day they pursued the search, and began by pulling at the limbs they had discovered, but could not get the body up, a circumstance which caused them no little surprise, as it lay in the soft soil of the moor. On digging round it, however, they observed on closer examination that it was fastened down in the mire with wooden hooks tight over each knee, and one over each elbow. The body was still further secured by cross-bands of strong boughs, one over the breast, the other across the abdomen. The head lay to the east, with the feet to the west. The boughs and hooks having been removed, the body was taken up, and found to be that of a woman, preserved in a mummy-like state. Fragments of the dress in which it had been clad showed that it had been concealed in that spot for many centuries. A few weeks after, a further search led to the discovery of several remnants of clothing and eight fragments of wooden hooks and stakes; but, as the water increased, and the weather was not favourable, the examination was suspended until July in the following year, when a complete investigation of the spot was undertaken. The depth of the morass was then ascertained to be about eleven ells (Danish). The body was submitted to the inspection of an anatomist, who pronounced it to be that of a woman about fifty years old. There were the full number of

[a] Lersner, loc. cit.

[b] Annaler for Nordisk Oldteyndighed, 1836–7, p. 160.

[c] We learn no details of this mode of execution from the "Praxis Criminis" of Millæus, fol. Par. 1558, nor from "La Practique et Enchiridion des Causes Criminelles, par Josse de Damhoudere," Louvain, 4°, 1554, although in the latter there is express mention of "la fosse" as one of the punishments common at that day.

teeth, but they were much worn. The hair was twenty inches long, and of a light brown colour, the skin resembling tanned leather, and the bones saturated with the ferruginous water of the moor.

That this woman came by a violent death, and was staked down alive in the mud, was shown by a considerable heaving up of the left knee, close over which one of the wooden hooks was so tightly secured that it was found difficult to disengage it from the ground. The features are said to have expressed a feeling of desperation. The hands and feet were well preserved, and apparently did not belong to a person of the working class. The body bore no marks of injury, except those from the exhumation.

German antiquaries have maintained that the woman thus interred was Queen Gunhild, who, according to historical notices, was enticed to Denmark by Harald Blue-tooth, and there by his order sunk in a moor; but, although the clothes found with the body resemble those discovered in other graves of the last period of paganism in Denmark, there seems to be no reason for ascribing it to Gunhild. Be this as it may, the foregoing account affords us a vivid picture of this particular mode of punishment.

Nor is this the only discovery of the kind in northern Europe. In the year 1817 a body was found in the turf-moor at Frideburg, in East Friesland, fastened down with stakes and branches of oak. By order of the authorities it was examined, and found to be that of a woman.[a]

The facts here reviewed lead to certain deductions. We have seen that our Teutonic forefathers, in the times of heathenism, regarded the criminal as a fit offering to the gods. The two principal modes of sacrifice in such cases, were hanging and drowning, and the ignominy of one of these punishments, which, though now obsolete, continued long after the establishment of Christianity, was probably heightened by the fact that it was inflicted *more paganorum*. We have seen that death on the sea-shore, where the tide ebbed and flowed, was the punishment inflicted on the criminal convicted of sacrilege; and this leads me to conclude with a few remarks on a memorable passage in English history.

The chroniclers,—especially William of Poictiers and Ordericus Vitalis—tell us, that after the fatal battle of Hastings, when Harald's mother supplicated for the body of her gallant son, she was tauntingly told, that the sea-shore was the appropriate place of sepulture for a perjured man. Ordericus says, that the corpse was delivered to one of the retainers of the victor, with orders to bury it near the

[a] Spangenberg, Neues Vaterl. Archiv, B. ii. s. 59.

coast which Harald had so long defended; while William of Poictiers informs us, that the same sentiment was expressed in derision by the triumphant Normans:—"Dictum est illudendo, oportere situm esse custodem litoris et pelagi, quæ cum armis ante vesanus insedit."

The concluding words of this passage seem to be purely inferential on the part of the historian, who appears not to have perceived the full intent and significance of the taunt he has recorded; expressing, as I conceive it must have expressed, all the bitterness inspired by a recent conflict and a hard-won victory. All Europe regarded Harald as a sacrilegious criminal, and he was so stigmatised by historians long after the Norman succession; even Adam of Bremen, in an incidental allusion to his fate, bestows on him the epithet "vir malefícus;"[a] and his burial on the sea-shore—"quod accessus maris operire solet,"—was, in the opinion of the foe he had stoutly resisted, the last act of indignity they could offer to his remains.

[a] Lib. ii. c. 26.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the book of the Customs of London, compiled about the year 1320, it appears that in the liberties of Walter FitzWalter, the castellan of the city, which constituted the ward of Castle Baynard, the felon convicted of treason was bound to the post fixed in the Thames at Woodwharf to which ships were fastened, for two flowings and two ebbings of the tide; but if he was condemned for common larceny, he was taken to the Elms in Smithfield, to be hung like other criminals of that description.

Si nul larroun seit pris en son Sokne, il deit aver soun cep [*stocks*] et soun emprisonement e son sokne. E serra de ilveke menez tauntqe a la Gihale, devaunt le Meire; e la purverrount son jugement qe lui doit estre done. Mes son jugement ne serra mie pupplie tauntqil viegne en la court le dit Robert e en sa fraunchise. E serra le jugement tiel, sil ad mort deservi par traisoun, *qil serra lie au pilier qi estet en Tamise a Wodewharf, la ou hom attache les neefs, deus mountees e deus retretes del ewe.* E sil soit dampnez pur comun larcin, e doit estre mene au Humeaus, e suffrir la son jugement, com autres comuns larouns.—Liber Custumarum, (preserved at Guildhall,) fol. 80, b.

V.—*Note sur les Fouilles exécutées à la Madeleine de Bernay (Normandie) en Fevrier* 1858; *par* L'Abbé Cochet, *Hon. F.S.A.*

Read December 2, 1858.

Au mois de Fevrier 1858 M. Metayer, de Bernay (Eure), a fait dans l'ancienne léproserie de cette ville une fouille qui procure une page nouvelle à l'histoire de la sépulture chrétienne du moyen-âge. Cette léproserie, peu eloignée de la ville, est aujourd'hui une ferme connue sous le nom de la *Madeleine*, dernière trace de l'ancien vocable de cet établissement hospitalier.

Le lieu dans lequel M. Metayer a opéré ses fouilles est assez restreint, puisqu'il n'a guère que 25^{m} de long sur 10^{m} de large. Cet espace de terrain, devenu un hallier, avait été autrefois entouré de fortes murailles, qui paraissent comme l'enceinte d'une ancienne chapelle. Cette enceinte elle-même était divisée en trois compartiments inégaux, dont ceux de chaque bout n'avaient guère que 5 à 6 mètres, tandis que celui du milieu en compte 12. M. Metayer pense que les trois divisions de l'édifice représentaient autant de caveaux funéraires. On verra que la nature des découvertes favorise cette supposition.

En effet dans ces trois clôtures, bien distinctes et separées l'une de l'autre par une épaisse muraille, il a trouvé 86 corps, dont 18 dans la première, celle qui renfermait encore une pierre d'autel entourée de son pavage; 14 dans la dernière, celle du fond, et 54 dans celle du milieu.

Comme tous les corps chrétiens possibles, les squelettes de la Madeleine étaient orientés est et ouest, les pieds à l'orient, la tête à l'occident. Dans le caveau du milieu il y avait deux couches de sépultures. Dans les autres il n'y en avait qu'une seule.

La majeure partie des corps avait été inhumée sans cercueils d'aucune espèce. La couche la plus voisine du sol n'en a fourni nulle trace. On n'en a remarqué que dans la couche inférieure où des clous en fer ont été recueillis autour des corps. Ces clous sont plutôt des rivets ou des écrous de 3 cent. de longueur, ayant à chaque extrémité des têtes plates, rondes, ou carrées. Des clous sem-

blables ont été recueillis par nous dans le cimetière de Bouteilles en 1855, 1856, 1857, et 1858,[a] et par M. Charma dans la léproserie du Catillon explorée par lui en 1851.[b] Ces écrous, fort communs au xiii^e^ siècle,[c] sont encore saturés de bois oxidé, ce qui indique l'épaisseur des cercueils dans lesquels furent enveloppés les corps ; mais, si tous les morts de la Madeleine n'avaient pas de coffre, tous au moins avaient sous la tête un gros silex en forme d'oreiller.[d]

Chacun de ces corps avait sa fosse particulière, à ce que suppose M. Metayer, qui écarte toute idée de fosse commune ; chose pratiquée ailleurs. Généralement, il a observé sous les corps une couche de chaux placée préalablement ; au dessus au contraire était une couche de charbon de bois assez épaisse, puis une couche de sable rouge mêlée de cendres et enfin un lit de terre noire.

Voici maintenant quelques unes des particularités qu'ont présenté ces sépultures. Tout d'abord nous ferons observer que dans le compartiment inférieur de ce que nous appellerons la *Chapelle* se trouvait dans le sol une croix en forme de *tau*, dite *croix de Saint-Antoine*,[e] tracée avec des silex sans mortier. Au bas de cette croix et au milieu d'elle était couché un squelette ayant avec lui une clef en fer et des morceaux de verre colorié, débris d'anciens vitraux.[f] Sept autres corps paraissaient entourer ce *tau*, signe mystérieux assez recherché au moyen-âge ; car nous le retrouvons dans les vitraux de Bourges,[g] et il a été également vu sur un tombeau du cimetière de Pithiviers.[h] Auprès de quelques uns des corps de la

[a] Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 334, 335. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. pp. 132, 133. Archæologia, vols. XXXVII. and XXXVIII.

[b] Charma, Rapport sur les Fouilles exécutées au Catillon, pp. 22, 23, pl. fig. 10, 11, 14, 15. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xix. pp. 495, 496, pl. fig. 10, 11, 15.

[c] Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii. p. 17. Transactions of the Hist. Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. ix. p. 68, pl. iv. fig. 2.

[d] Des squelettes ayant une pierre sous la tête ont été trouvés à différents endroits: notamment, en 1844, dans le cimetière Gallo-Romain de Vernon, (La Normandie Souterraine, 1^ere^ edit. p. 39; 2^e^ edit. p. 43); vers 1850 dans le cimetière Burgonde de Galgenhubel, près Berne, (De Bonstetten, Recueil d'Antiquités Suisses, p. 44); et en 1853 dans le cimetière Franc du Tombois à Védrin, près Namur (del Marmol, Cimet. de l'Epoque Franque, p. 3).

[e] L'Abbé Van Drival, Revue de l'Art Chrétien, 2^e^ année, p. 484.

[f] Dans le cimetière de Bouteilles, j'ai trouvé à diverses reprises du verre colorié semblable à celui de Bernay. En 1836, M. l'Abbé Barraud a recueilli dans le cimetière de Mareuil-sur-Ourq (Oise) un vase en plomb recouvert d'un moreeau de vitre en grisaille représentant une fleur de lis; la peinture paraissait appartenir au xiii^e^ siècle.—Sépultures Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. p. 373.

[g] Cahier et Martin, Monographie des Vitraux de Bourges.

[h] En 1855, on trouva dans le cimetière de Pithiviers (Loiret) une tombe en pierre plate sans inscription marquée d'une croix en forme de tau. Bullet. de la Soc. Arch. de L'Orléanais, N° 21, année 1855, p. 146. Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. p. 382.

Madeleine on a recueilli des os de poulet, des mâchoires de ruminants, des dents de chèvre, et des défenses de sanglier, ossemens que l'explorateur suppose y avoir été placés à dessein par les survivants. A ce propos nous dirons qu' à Bouteilles nous avons également rencontré des dents de ruminants, 5 ou 6 défenses de sanglier, et une quantité considerable de moules sans songer à en rien conclure. Nous savons aussi qu' à Leure près le Hâvre, on a trouvé sur une sépulture du parvis de l'église une couche de valves de moules de plus de 10^{e} d'épaisseur.[a]

N'oublions point de dire qu'il s'est aussi trouvé à Bernay une coquille dite *pélerine*. Nous n'ignorons pas que des pélerines ont été rencontrées à l'Abbaye de Fecamp dans des tombeaux de moyen-âge, aux catacombes de Rome dans des *loculi* Chrétiens, en Suisse dans des cimetières Burgondes, et à Angers dans un sarcophage Romain.

On a encore recueilli auprès de quelques corps trois clefs en fer, une paire de ciseaux forcés, aussi en fer, et trois couteaux du même métal. Ces objets étaient tous placés à la ceinture, ce qui pour nous s'explique aisément. Si ces corps sont comme nous aimons à le croire, ceux des religieux préposés à la garde des lépreux, rien d'étonnant de rencontrer avec eux ces objets domestiques. La clef, le couteau, et les ciseaux faisaient partie du costume des frères infirmiers. Nous pourrions même ajouter qu' à cette époque les bourgeois, les paysans, les bergers et à peu près tous les hommes portaient à la ceinture des clefs, des couteaux, des ciseaux, des peignes, des pinces, des aiguilles, etc.[b] N'oublions pas que le couteau faisait partie

[a] Dans les cimetières antiques d'Arcis-sur-Aube et de S^{t} Loup, près Troyes (Aube) on a trouvé des os de volaille reduits à l'état de phosphate de chaux déposés sur des plats a côté des cadavres. (Corrard de Bréban, Congrès Archéolog. de France, séance gén. tenue en 1853, p. 116). Mais ce cimetière etait païen.

[b] Dans les statuts de l'Hôtel Dieu Le Comte à Troyes redigés en 1263 on lit:—" (Sorores.) Zonas religiosas habeant cum custello, bursâ et aculeario." Ce qu'une très vieille traduction Française applique aux frères et aux sœurs en ces termes: "et si nous devons porter corroies religieuses et 1 coustel et 1 agulier." Mém. de la Soc. d'Agric. etc. de l'Aube, t. xvii. pp. 69, 98.

Dans un recueil de poésies du xv^{e} et du xvi^{e} siècle, intitulé "Blasons," publié à Paris en 1809, et cité par M. de la Querrière dans sa Description Historique des Maisons de Rouen, t. ii. p. 58, on lit cette peinture de l'estuy de chambre, qui faisait partie du costume d'alors:

" Estuy de fin veloux couvert
De cramoisy, de bleu ou vert;
Estuy ou pignes sont dedans
A grosses et menues dents,
Les quels pignes, debvez vous croire,
Sont d'ébène ou de blanc yvoire
Ou de bouys.....
Estuy le plus beau de ce monde,
Ou sont les ciseaux, le poinson,
La brosse de gente façon [brosse aux dents],
Le cure dent, la cure aureille,

du mobilier des anciens lepreux, car nous le voyons mentionné dans le rituel de Rouen à la formule "modus separandi leprosos a populo."[a]

Il m'est moins facile d'expliquer la présence d'une petite fiole en terre noire ayant la forme d'un poivrier et trouvée dans le crâne d'un squelette; on pense qu'elle a pu contenir des odeurs ou des parfums.

Enfin un squelette placé près de l'autel a donné outre des vases une bague en argent encore passée à l'un de ces doigts. Cet anneau présentait un chaton de cristal de roche fin, de forme quadrangulaire et rehaussé d'un paillon.

Des bagues d'argent avec chaton en cristal absolument semblables à celle-ci ont été trouvées en 1854, près Worcester en Angleterre, à côté de monnaies du xii[e] siècle. On peut voir dans l'Archæologia la description et la représentation qu'en ont données MM. Allies, de Cheltenham, et Akerman, de Londres.[b]

Après ces détails il nous reste à signaler les deux traits les plus caractéristiques de cette fouille. En effet les deux points importants de cette découverte sont les monnaies et les vases, et en dehors de l'archéologie sépulcrale les deux sciences qui ont le plus à y gagner sont la céramique et la numismatique.

Parlons d'abord des vases. Il s'en est rencontré de 140 à 150, tous placés auprès des corps.

Chaque corps en a présenté un ou plusieurs. Quand le vase était unique, il était voisin de la tête; quand il y en avait quatre on en trouvait 2 à la tête et 2 aux pieds. Quelques corps en ont présenté 2, d'autres 3, mais le nombre 4 était le maximum.

La presque totalité de ces vases étaient forés et l'avaient été après la cuisson. On reconnaissait encore fort bien que les trous avaient été pratiqués à l'aide d'un instrument tranchant et aigu. Ces trous, en nombre irrégulier, allaient habituellement de 3 à 6. La rangée, ordinairement unique, était parfois double et rarement triple. Des rangs doubles et triples ont été vus ailleurs, par exemple à Sierville,[c]

> La sie, petite marveille,
> La lime, la gente pinsette,
> Le retissoir et la forcette [petits ciseaux],
> Avecque plusieurs aultres choses."

Dans un éloge de Paris en 1323, par un habitant de Senlis, on lit ce détail sur le costume des Bourgeois: "Cinguli pro lumbis, burse pro lateribus." Bulletin du Comité de la Langue, de l'Histoire, et des Arts de la France, t. iii. p. 520. Enfin dans un vitrail du xvi[e] siècle, placé dans l'église d'Ancourt, près Dieppe, et representant une Nativité, on voit un berger portant suspendu à son ceinture un peigne et des ciseaux.

[a] Parmi les meubles dont la cellule du lépreux doit être garnie on cite, "cultro, doliolo." Parochiale sive Sacerdotale (quod Manuale vocant) édité à Rouen par l'Archevêque de Harlay, en 1651, pars 2, p. 514.

[b] J. Y. Akerman's Account of Silver Rings and Coins discovered near Worcester, Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. pp. 200—202, pl. xvii. Nos. 1, 2, 3.

[c] Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. p. 371—392.

à Leure,[a] à Neufchâtel,[b] à Lillebonne,[c] à Paris, et au Catillon près Bénouville-sur-Orne.[d] Quelques uns des vases de Bernay ont présenté des trous si fins et si allongés qu'évidemment ils avaient été pratiqués par le coup unique d'un outil de fer semblable à celui dont se servent nos couvreurs en ardoise.

Ces trous étaient faits dans l'intention de favoriser l'évaporation du feu qui brula dans ces vases le jour des funérailles. Car il faut bien le dire, tous ces vases noircis à l'intérieur et possédant encore des charbons de bois, avaient été employés en guise de cassolettes, le jour de l'inhumation, et rangés autour du corps pendant la cérémonie funébre.[e] Après le service on les avait jetés dans la fosse avec le corps qu'ils avaient accompagné. Voilà pourquoi nous les y retrouvons aujourd'hui.

Cette coutume était surtout en honneur au xiii^e^ au xiv^e^ et au xv^e^ siècle, mais nous avons des preuves qu'elle dura jusqu' au xvi^e^ et même jusqu' au xvii^e^.[f]

Après avoir donné l'usage des vases, donnons en maintenant la classification.

Il nous a été montré environ 60 vases de la Maladerie de Bernay. C'est à peu près la moitié de ce qui a pu être conservé. Sur ces 60 vases les quatre cinquièmes appartenaient à une seule et unique catégorie. Ce type, si abondant à Bernay, s'est également retrouvé avec des modifications à Lillebonne, à Sigy, à Leure[g] et au Catillon de Bénouville-sur-Orne.[h]

La forme de ces vases n'est plus usitée aujourd'hui. On ne la retrouve non plus, ni chez les Gaulois ni chez les Romains: tandis qu'elle est assez commune chez les

[a] Mém. de la Soc. des Ant. de Norm. t. xxii. p. 395—397. Pierre Tombale, Sépult. et Vases Funér. du xiii^e^ siècle trouvés au Hâvre, pp. 9 et 11.

[b] Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 387, 388.

[c] Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. p. 397. Pierre Tombale, Sépult. et Vases Funér. du xiii^e^ siècle trouvés au Hâvre, p. 11.

[d] Charma, Rapport sur les Fouilles exécutées au Catillon près Bénouville, pp. 22, 23, pl. fig. 15. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. p. 496, pl. fig. 19.

[e] Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 395, 396. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. pp. 397, 398. Pierre Tombale, Sépult. et Vases Funér. du xiii^e^ siècle trouvés au Hâvre, pp. 11, 12. Recueil des Public. de la Société Havraise, années 1855—1856, p. 359.

[f] Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 357, 358, 382, 383, 385. De Caumont, Cours d'Antiq. Monumentales, t. vi. pp. 322, 323.

[g] Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 370, 390, 392. Pierre Tombale, Sépult. et Vases Fun. du xiii^e^ siècle trouvés au Hâvre en 1856, pp. 8—12. Mém. de la Soc. des Ant. de Norm. t. xix. p. 496, pl. fig. 13.

[h] Charma, Rapport sur les Fouilles exécutées au Catillon près Bénouville, pp. 22, 23, pl. fig. 19. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xix. p. 496, pl. fig. 13.

Francs, Mérovingiens ou Carlovingiens. Mais si les vases de ces deux périodes Capétienne et Mérovingienne se rapprochent par la forme, ils s'éloignent beaucoup par la terre. Ainsi pendant que la terre des temps Merovingiens est ordinairement noire, celle de Bernay est toujours blanche, seulement elle tire parfois sur le jaune et parfois sur le rose.[a]

A Bernay des taches, des plaques, des gouttes de vernis verdâtre, plombifère et indestructible apparaissent sur presque tous les vases, tandis que chez les Francs ce vernis est inconnu. Il ne s'y trouve guère qu'une couche noire de plombagine qui s'en va à l'eau.

La forme la plus ordinaire des vases de Bernay est un peu celle de nos sucriers, seulement là le vase est ventru et bombé. Il n'a ni anse ni cou, mais seulement un léger rebord et un collet, parfois rabattu et dentelé à l'aide des doigts. La grandeur des vases et leur capacité varient considérablement. Les plus grands contiennent à peine un litre, les plus petits descendent jusqu'à un ou deux décilitres.

La raison qui nous fait attribuer ces vases au xiii[e] et au xiv[e] siècle, c'est d'abord la nature de la terre, ensuite celle du vernis, qui d'aprés M. Brongniart et les céramistes n'apparut en France qu'à cette époque.[b] Puis et surtout ce sont les découvertes analogues et à date certaine faites sur d'autres points. Ainsi les vases de Bernay ressemblent pour la matière et la forme à ceux qui en 1856, furent trouvés à Leure sous la dalle tumulaire de Pierre Bérenguier, laquelle est de la fin du xiii siècle.

Ils ressemblent également à ceux de Lillebonne,[d] de Sigy,[e] et du Catillon,[f] que

[a] A Bernay trois vases en terre noire ont été trouvés à côté des plus anciennes monnaies. Des vases semblables ont été rencontrés à Bouteilles en 1857 (Sépultures de la période Anglo-Normande trouvées à Bouteilles en 1857, Archæologia, vol. XXXVII. p. 417, pl. xi. fig. 3), mais les vases chrétiens diffèrent par la forme de ceux de l'époque Franque.

[b] Brongniart et Riocreux, Descript. Méthod. du Musée Céramique de la Manuf. Royale de Porcelaine de Sèvres, t. 1[er], pp 138, 139.

[c] Pierre Tombale, Sépult. et Vases Funéraires du xiii[e] siècle trouvés au Havre, p. 9. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. pp. 395—397. Recueil des Public. de la Societé Havraise d'étud. div. années 1855, 1856, pp. 356—358.

[d] Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 390—392. Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. p. 397.

[e] Recueil des Public. de la Soc. Hav. d'étud. div. années 1855, 1856, p. 358. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. p. 396.

[f] Charma, Rapport sur les Fouilles exécutées au Catillon, pl. fig. 13. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xix. pl. fig. 13.

nous avons des raisons pour attribuer à cette même époque. Enfin le type de ces vases se voit sculpté au dessus du portail nord de la cathédrale de Reims dans une représentation du jugement dernier.[a]

Après cette catégorie, qui est grandement dominante, nous avons reconnu quelques vases à anses, aussi en terre blanche, qui pourraient bien appartenir au xiv^e^ ou au xv^e^ siècle ; mais sur ce point nous manquons d'appui dans nos attributions.

Nous avons aussi remarqué des terrines de grès pareilles à celles qui ont été trouvées dans des chapelles et des églises de Paris, dans des églises et des cimetières de la Seine Inferieure, notamment à Bouteilles, à Lillebonne, à Leure, à Londinières, à Martin-Eglise, à St. Aubin-sur-Mer, et à St. Nicaise de Rouen. La première de ces soucoupes nous apparait à St. Aubin-sur-Mer au xiv^e^ siècle et la dernière à Paris, au collége des Grassins, vers la fin de xvi^e^.[b]

Enfin M. Metayer a trouvé dans ses fouilles deux vases fort remarquables ; l'un est d'une terre, d'une forme et d'un vernis tout à fait inusités dans nos cimetières chrétiens. Ce vernis est d'un vert marbré et le fond de la terre est rougeâtre. La forme, qui ne peut-être bien rendue que par un dessin, est d'une élégance extrême. N'ayant vu ce vase qu'à l'état de fragment, nous ne pouvons donner au lecteur une idée complète de son ensemble ; mais à en juger par les morceaux que nous avons vus, c'est une pièce rare et curieuse.

L'autre vase également insolite à été découvert dans le caveau du milieu. C'est un plat ou plutôt une partie de plat du genre de ceux que fabriquait Bernard de Palissy. Un vernis vert et abondant recouvre la terre cuite, et des dessins en relief, tels que fleurs, cornes d'abondance, rosaces décorent la surface intérieure de ce plateau unique jusqu'ici dans nos sépultures chrétiennes. Nous devons toutefois placer à côté de lui un fragment de vase à relief trouvé en 1854 dans le cimetière de St. Denis de Lillebonne. Ce fragment, que nous avons offert au musée de Sèvres, est recouvert d'un vernis jaunâtre et plombifère. La moulure représente un cavalier monté sur son cheval, probablement un saint Martin.

Voilà tout ce que nous pouvons dire en ce moment des vases funéraires chrétiens, trouvés par M. Metayer. Leur abondance, leur forme, leur placement, en un mot les observations dont ils ont été l'objet font de cette trouvaille un des plus précieux documents que nous possédions pour l'étude de la sépulture chrétienne du xiii^e^ au xvi^e^ siècle.

[a] Rev. Archéologique, xiv^e^ année, p. p. 618. Rev. de l'Art Chrétien, Avril 1858, p. 190.

[b] Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 355, 356, 376, 377, 389, 392. Bullet. Monumental, t. xxii. pp. 341, 342, 426, 427, 439, 442.

Maintenant arrivons aux monnaies qui complètent cette étrange découverte. Ici notre tâche devient plus facile, puisque nous n'avons pas à parler de nous même et qu'il nous faut laisser la parole à un habile numismatiste, M. Thomas, avocat de Rouen, à qui ces pièces ont été confiées.

M. Metayer a trouvé 86 monnaies, dont 63 entières et 23 fragmentées ou réduites à moitié ou au quart, avec intention. Voici de quelle manière M. Thomas a classé ces monnaies, dans une lettre insérée au Journal de Rouen du 3 Avril, 1858.

Sur les 63 pièces entières, sept monnaies, tant royales que baronnales, s'échelonnent de Louis VIII. à Philippe-Le-Bel (1232 à 1300). Le xiv^e^ siècle compte 22 pièces, " en tête desquelles se place par ordre de mérite, non moins que de date, une rare et intéressante obole de Narbonne frappée de 1298 à 1311, sous la double autorité de l'Archevêque Eloi et du Comte Amalric II. dont elle porte les initiales."

Le xv^e^ siècle est répresenté par 21 monnaies, le xvi^e^ par 9 pièces, et les 57 premières années du xvii^e^ par 4 pièces, dont 2 doubles tournois de Sédan de F. Maurice de la Tour, Duc de Bouillon, et 2 liards de Louis XIV. aux millésimes de 1656 et 1657.

" Les temps sont accomplis," dit M. Thomas, " la lèpre est vaincue, et, devenue inutile, la maladerie abandonnée comme un séjour maudit tombe en ruine."[b]

23 pièces, en partie brisées et toutes trop altérées par l'oxidation ou par le frai pour qu'on puisse en fixer l'attribution particulière, demeurent, il est vrai, en dehors de cette répartition ; " mais," ajoute M. Thomas, " elles ne sauraient en modifier les rapports, car d'après leur titre, leur module et les vestiges des types ou des caractères encore visibles, deux de ces monnaies au plus se rapportent au xiii^e^ siècle ; 20 doivent se partager à peu près également entre le xiv^e^ et le xv^e^ ; une seule enfin peut à la rigueur appartenir au xvi^e^ ou à la première moitié du xvii^e^ siècle."

Il y avait en dehors de la chronologie toujours pour les xiii^e^ et xiv^e^ siècles ; 5 deniers des rois de Portugal ; 1 obole de Narbonne ; 1 obole de Charles II. Comte d'Anjou ; 1 denier d'Eudes, Duc de Bourgogne ; et 4 pièces de Touraine, et de Bretagne, précédant l'envahissement de la Flandre.

[a] Dans le cimetière Frane de Conlie (Sarthe) découvert en 1838, M. Jousset des Berryes signale, non loin des squelettes, un gros d'argent de Charles V. une monnaie d'argent de Geoffroy Comte d'Anjou, et un denier tournois de 1650.—Bull. Monument. t. v. p. 528. À Civeaux, près Poitiers, cimetière rempli de sarcophages de toutes les époques, le Père Routh assure que l'on a trouvé dans un cercueil des monnaies de 1650.—De Caumont, Cours d'Antiq. Monum. t. vi. p. 293. À Bayeux des monnaies Romaines et des pièces de moyen-âge ont apparu dans la vieille necropole.—Ed. Lambert, Mém. de la Soc des Antiq. de Norm. t. xvii. p. 450.

[b] Journal de Rouen, du 3 Avril, 1858.

En terminant sa lettre M. Thomas fait observer avec raison que les deniers de Louis VIII. confirment l'exactitude d'une ancienne charte qui reportait, vers 1225, la fondation ou la restauration de la Madeleine de Bernay.

Maintenant on nous demandera peut-être à quoi pouvaient servir ces pièces si nombreuses qui paraissent avoir été placées à dessein auprès du corps de religieux ou de lépreux du moyen-âge. Nous avouons franchement ne pas le savoir, et nous attendrons du temps et de faits bien observés l'explication de ce mystère. Mais avant tout nous croyons devoir écarter toute pensée de *naulum* et de Barque à Caron, cette interprétation nous paraissant trop contraire aux idées chrétiennes du moyen-âge, et nos études sépulcrales ne nous ayant encore rien révélé de pareil. Pour l'admettre nous attendrons qu'elle soit plus autorisée.[a]

Le lecteur comprendra que nous avons d'autant plus raison d'écarter du placement de ces monnaies toute idée païenne qu'il s'en est rencontré jusque dans le cercueil des saints canonisés par l'Eglise Romaine; ainsi lorsque le 22 Octobre, 1818, on trouva à Assise, en Italie, le cercueil de St. François, on recueillit dans l'intérieur huit monnaies d'argent du xii^e^ siècle.[b] Le fondateur des Ordres Mendiants etait mort le 4 Octobre, 1226.

Il ne nous reste plus qu'un mot à ajouter sur les monnaies coupées par moitié ou par quart qui ont été trouvées à la Madeleine. Nous savions qu' à l'époque Romaine et qu' à l'époque Franque, des monnaies antiques avaient été parfois coupées en deux ou en plusieurs portions. En 1847 M. Lindenschmit a trouvé un quart de monnaie d'argent sur un guerrier de Selzen, près Mayence.[c] En 1827 M. Feret a recueilli des as coupés dans le tombeau de chef Romain de la cité de Limes (iv^e^ siècle).[d] M. D'Osmoy en a rencontré en 1851 dans les sépultures Franques de Guiry (Seine et Oise). Nous même en avons recueilli dans le cimetière Mérovingien d'Envermeu.[e]

Mais il y a trois ans nous n'en connaissions point d'exemples pour le moyen-âge. A présent nous pouvons en citer deux; celui de Bernay, révélé par M. Metayer, et celui de Worcester, en Angleterre, raconté par M. Akerman. Les pièces

[a] Je n'ignore pas toutefois que plusieurs auteurs, entre autres Legrand d'Aussy, ont cru remarquer parmi les sépultures chrétiennes du moyen-âge des traces du Nolum en France. — Des Sépultures Nationales, p. 39—44. Voir aussi Simon, Notice sur des Sépult. Antiq. p. 5.—Namur, Public. de la Soc. Archéol. du Luxembourg, t. viii. p. 46 —Joly, Antiq. Celto-Germ. et Gallo-Rom., p. 166-67.

[b] Godescard, Vies des Pères, des Martyrs, etc., Supplement, p. 490, édition de 1824.

[c] Lindenschmit, Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzeu, planche générale No. 21.

[d] Feret, Souscription pour la recherche et la découverte des Antiq. dans l'arrond. de Dieppe, p. 9. Catalogue de la Bibliothèque publique de Dieppe, p. 344.

[e] La Normandie Souterraine, 1^ere^ edition, p. 287; 2^e^ edit. p. 356.

d'argent trouvées près Worcester en 1854, et classées par M. Akerman, se composent de 215 pennies en argent, parmi lesquels le savant numismatiste Anglais à reconnu 191 pennies de Henri II. un de David I. roi d'Ecosse, 8 deniers de St. Martin de Tours, 8 de Hugues V. Comte d'Anjou, 1 de Melle et 1 d'Eudes Duc de Bourgogne.[a] On y remarque surtout un demi penny et un quart de penny de Henri II. ainsi qu'un demi penny d'Eustache, Comte de Boulogne.[b] Presque tous ces souverains sont de xii^e^ siècle et voisins de la Maladerie de Bernay.

En terminant cet article nous dirons que cette fouille de maladerie est la troisième que nous connaissions en Normandie. La première a été pratiquée en 1842, par M. l'Abbé Lecomte dans la léproserie de St. Cathald, située entre les paroisses de Derchigny, Berneval, et St. Martin-en-Campagne (arrondissement de Dieppe). Notre confrère retrouva la chapelle longue de 9^m^ 33^c^ et large de 7^m^ 33^c^, et dont les murs en moëllon et silex avaient 1^m^ 33^c^ d'épaisseur.[c] Outre deux deniers de St. Louis et de Philippe III.[d] il recueillit aussi des monnaies baronnales frappées au xiii^e^ et au xiv^e^ siècle. Plusieurs squelettes furent rencontrés ayant aux pieds des fragments de poterie, "ce qui," dit l'auteur, "se retrouve fort ordinairement dans les tombeaux du moyen-âge. En général," ajoute-t-il, "les sépultures de cette léproserie étaient fort pauvres; on n'y trouve même pas vestige de cercueils."[e]

Le second cimetière de lépreux dont l'exploration nous est connue est celui du Catillon, entre St. Aubin, Ouistreham et Bénouville-sur-Orne (arrondissement de Caen). M. Charma, qui l'a fouillé en 1851, y a trouvé 315 squelettes partagés en trois fosses communes. Quelques corps étaient accompagnés de dalles en moëllon, d'autres avaient été déposés dans des cercueils de bois, ou bien avaient été inhumés dans un simple sac de toile. Des cercueils de bois il était resté dans le sol une masse de rivets ou écrous, espèce de clous à deux têtes, longs de 3^c^ [f], entièrement semblables à ceux qui ont été recueillis à Bouteilles [g] et à Bernay, près de quelques uns des squelettes.

[a] J. Y. Akerman's Account of Silver Rings and Coins discovered near Worcester, Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. pp. 200—202, pl. xvii.

[b] Id. ibid. p. 201, pl. xvii. figs. 8, 9.

[c] Notice Hist. sur Berneval le Grand et St. Martin-en-Campagne par M. l'Abbé Lecomte, vicaire de St. François du Havre, p. 51.

[d] Id. ibid. p. 36.

[e] Id. ibid. pp. 51, 52.

[f] Charma, Rapport sur les Fouilles exécutées au Catillon, près Bénouville, pp. 17—29, pl. figs. 10, 11, 14, 15. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xix. pp. 493—496, pl. figs. 10, 11, 14, 19.

[g] Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 334, 335. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. pp. 132,133. Archæologia, vol. XXXVII.

M. Charma n'a trouvé qu'un seul vase en terre blanche vernissé de vert et entièrement semblable pour la forme à ceux de Bernay. Ce vase à collet dentelé à la main contenait du charbon et est percé de trois rangs de trous pratiqués après la cuisson.[a]

Des trois cimetières de lépreux que nous venons de citer, celui de Bernay est incomparablement le plus riche; aussi nous ne terminerons pas cet article sans feliciter M. Metayer de sa précieuse découverte, ni sans applaudir à un si heureux début archéologique.

L'ABBÉ COCHET.

Dieppe, le 1er Mai, 1858.

Note on the discovery of Coins cut into halves and quarters, alluded to in the Abbé Cochet's communication.

The discovery of silver pennies cut into halves and quarters is more common in England than the learned Abbé supposes, but is apt to be overlooked by numismatists. In the great find of coins which took place at Cuerdale, in Lancashire, in 1840, were several pennies of Alfred and Edward the Elder so divided. The same was the case with coins of Edward the Confessor, found at Thwaite, in Suffolk, and with those of William the Conqueror, discovered at Beaworth, in Hampshire, in 1833. On the latter discovery, Mr. Hawkins has remarked (Silver Coins of England, p. 72), that the halves and quarters were probably issued from the mints in that form, as the whole collection had evidently never been in circulation. Besides the half-coin of Eustace Count of Boulogne, mentioned above, p. 75, the discovery at Worcester comprised about thirteen halves and as many quarters of pennies of Henry II. The collections in the British Museum contain specimens of divided coins of nearly every monarch from Alfred to Henry III., with whose reign they cease. The practice of dividing the coins no doubt arose from the scarcity of small change, which was in part remedied under the reign of Edward I. by the coinage of halfpence and farthings.

A. W. F.

[a] Charma, Rapport sur les Fouilles exécutées au Catillon, pp. 22, 23, pl. fig. 13. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xix. p. 496, pl. fig. 13.

VI.—*Notes on the Great Seals of England used after the Deposition of Charles I. and before the Restoration in* 1660: *by* WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, *Esq. F.S.A.*

Read December 23d, 1858.

IT is many years since an impression of the Great Seal of England executed by Symons, and admitted by all to be his best work, was submitted to the inspection of the Fellows of our Society; and I believe that none of our present Fellows then belonged to us: so that its re-appearance may have in some measure the character of a new exhibition.

I do not, therefore, hesitate to call your attention to the seal; not only is it important as a work of art, and impressions of it have become very scarce, but I have this additional motive, that I am able to afford distinct evidence—

1. That this seal was in use long after Cromwell's own Great Seal was made and used by his own commissioners;

2. That his own Great Seal was ordered in 1654; and

3. That the Great Seal published by Vertue,[a] in 1753, as that of the Long Parliament when it re-assembled in 1659, and inscribed "God with us, 1659," never was actually used as the Great Seal of England.

I can also add something to our printed information as to the Manual and Privy Seals of Oliver Cromwell.

The Commons having declared that the supreme power was in them, on the very day that the ordnance passed for creating a High Court of Justice, before which Charles was to be tried, on 6th January, 1648-9, a committee[b] was appointed, the members of which, or any two of them, were to take order for the framing of a Great Seal, and were to bring the form on Monday morning then next, and "the more particular care hereof is referred to Mr. Henry Marten."

On Tuesday, 9th January,[c] Col. Marten brought up the committee's report, and it was resolved, "That a great seal be graven, with the addition of the map of the kingdom of Ireland, and of Jersey and Guernsey, together with the map of England, and in some convenient place on that side the arms by which the king-

[a] Medals, &c. of Thomas Simon, by George Vertue. Lond. 1753. Pl. xxv.

[b] Journals, vi. p. 112, 113. [c] Ib. p. 115.

doms of England and Ireland are differenced from other kingdoms; that on the map side of the Great Seal the inscription shall be 'The Great Seal of England, 1648;' that the inscription on the other side of the seal, on which the sculpture of the House of Commons is engraven, shall be this, viz. 'In the First year of Freedom by God's Blessing restored, 1648;' that it be referred to the former committee to cause it to be engraven." One person was added to the committee, and sixty pounds were charged on the revenue towards the charges of this seal, to be paid forthwith to Mr. John Blakiston, who was one of the committee.[a] On 26th January[b] it was further ordered, that Thomas Symons be authorised to engrave a seal according to the form formerly directed, and have the sum of 200*l.* for graving the said Great Seal, and for the materials thereof.

On 7th February it was ordered,[c] that the new Great Seal should be brought to the House on the following morning; and Sir Thos. Widrington and Mr. Whitelock, members of the House and two of the commissioners, were directed to do this. On the 8th it was enacted[d] that they should be required to bring the Great Seal (*i. e.* the old Great Seal, made when Charles was at Oxford,) into the House, to be disposed of as the House should think fit; and the same having been brought in and delivered to the Speaker, it was ordered that the said Great Seal should be forthwith broken: it was broken accordingly into several pieces in the House; and the pieces and the purse were delivered to Widrington and Whitelock to be disposed of at their pleasure. An Act was passed the same day for establishing the new Great Seal, and making it high treason to counterfeit it; and it was delivered to Serjeant Whitelock, who with Serjeant Keeble and Mr. L'Isle were to be the commissioners.

On 25th April, 1659, a new coinage,[e] with inscriptions in the English tongue, was ordered; and it was resolved, "That Thomas Symon be appointed to be sole chief engraver to the mints and seals."

Vertue had not been able to find any perfect impression of this first Seal, but an impression is said to have since been procured by Mr. Stradling, of Somersetshire.[f]

No order for the making of any fresh or better seal appears; nor can I find the Act for that purpose said to have been passed on 26th March, 1650; but on 4th December, 1651, it was ordered,[g] that on that day se'nnight the new Great Seal be

[a] The warrant was issued on 11th Jan.—Notes and Queries, 2nd series, vol. vii. p. 195.

[b] Journals, vi. p. 123. [c] Ib. p. 133. [d] Ib. p. 134. [e] Ib. p. 195.

[f] I find by the Minutes that on 2d May, 1751, Dr. Rawlinson produced to our Society a Commission of Bankruptcy against Daniel Golberson and Francis Soane, dated April 1651, to which was appended an imperfect impression of the seal of 1648; being the one engraved by Vertue. Pl. ii.—MS. Minutes Soc. Ant. vi. fol. 98.

[g] Journals, vii. p. 47.

brought in, and that the Lords Commissioners do bring in the "now" Great Seal at the same time. Nothing appears in the Journals on the 11th; but on the 16th it was ordered,[a] that the commissioners should attend to-morrow morning with the Great Seal, to receive the new Great Seal. On the 17th the Commissioners appeared at the bar, when the Speaker delivered to them the new Great Seal, with directions to cause the old Great Seal to be broken. It was also referred to the Council of State to take order that the sum of 300*l.* be paid unto Thomas Symons, which had been agreed by the committee appointed for that purpose to be paid unto him for the two Great Seals made by him and the materials thereof; and that the said Council do take consideration of what further recompense is fit to be given unto him for his extraordinary pains therein, and give order for the payment unto him of such sum of money as they shall think fit in respect thereof.

By the Order Book of the Council it appears that on 21st January the 300*l.* were paid to him, and the remainder of the order was referred to the consideration of the Committee for Irish and Scottish affairs. I have been unable to find any report, and nothing seems to have been done; for in May 1659 Symons claimed an unsatisfied debt for making the former Great Seals, and the claim was referred to the new Council of State.[b]

The inscription on the new seal differed only in its being the THIRD instead of the FIRST year of Freedom, and the date 1651.

Mr. Vertue thus described to our Society, on 9th May, 1751, the difference between the two seals other than the inscriptions and dates:—

"The great window in the House of Commons sitting is larger and higher in the first than in the other of 1651; and on the other side between the islands of Great Britain and Ireland is writ in the second in capitals 'THE IRISH SEA,' and a small compass; and near the south coast of England is writ 'THE BRITISH SEA,' which is not so in the seal of 1648."[c]

Of the Parliament side of this seal of 1651 the Society has been presented by my friend Mr. Frederic Ouvry, the Treasurer, with a perfect and very sharp impression, which formerly belonged to the collection at Fonthill; and the Society has very fair impressions of the obverse and reverse affixed to the original document to which I shall presently refer.

It was on the 20th April, 1653, that the Long Parliament was dismissed, and the Barebone Parliament, which met on 4th July, resigned their powers into Cromwell's hands on 12th December, 1653. Thereupon Cromwell, with the advice of his

[a] Journals, vii. p. 51. [b] Ib. p. 654. [c] MS. Minutes of Soc. of Ant. vi. fol. 98.

officers, constituted himself Lord Protector. Five days afterwards he issued under his sign manual and private seal a commission, which the Society has, and to which I direct your particular attention. It is a commission in the name of Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the "domions" and territories thereof; and is directed to Colonel Robert Blake, Colonel George Monk, Lieut.-General of the Ordnance, Major-General John Desbrowe, and Captain William Penn, saying "We, reposing special trust and confidence in your approved integrity and fidelity to the cause of the Commonwealth, and in your wisdom, courage, discretion, and experience in military and naval matters, have, with the advice of our council, nominated and appointed you, or any two or more of you, to execute the office of Admiral and General of the Fleet." The seal has the arms of Cromwell, with his quarterings, viz:—

1. Sable, a lion rampant argent—*Cromwell alias Williams;*
2. Sable, three spear's heads argent, imbrued gules—*Kenvvig Sais;*

[This is probably a mistake for, Sable, a *chevron* between three spear's heads argent, imbrued gules, for *Caradoc Vreichfras*, from whom he descended. He did not descend from Kenvvig Sais.]

3. Sable, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys—*Collwyn ap Tangno;*
4. Gules, three chevronels argent—*Jestyn ap Gurgant;*
5. Argent, a lion rampant sable (no coronet about his neck)—*Meredith, Prince of Powys;*
6. As the first;

Crest, a demi-lion argent holding a spear or;[a]

It differs from the Seal Manual engraved by Vertue,[b] in the form of the spear held by the lion, and in having an esquire's helmet only; Vertue's having the helmet commonly used above the arms of a king.

Proceeding step by step, after the dissolution of the next Parliament on 22nd January, 1654-5, we find by the Minutes of Cromwell's Council that he ordered a new Great Seal to be made for himself as Lord Protector. The entries are:—

"15th Feby. 1654-5.[c]—Order by his Highness the Lord Protector, by and with the advice and consent of the Council:

[a] "The foregoing quarterings," says T. W. King, Esq. York Herald, F.S.A., "are taken from Vincent's Collections for co. Hunts (No. 125); those on the seal appear to be intended for them—the names have been supplied from several sources in Coll. Arms. The only crest I find is that mentioned above."

In Clutterbuck's Herts there is a pedigree of Oliver Cromwell (vol. ii.). In Noble's Memoirs of the House of Cromwell are banners, &c. of his arms.

[b] Plate xxxi. The matrix is in the Ashmolean Museum.

[c] Draft Council Book, vol. xlviii. p. 37.

"1. That the motto incompassing that side of the Great Seal of England which bears the portraiture of his Highness be, 'OLIVARIUS DEI GRATIA REIP. ANGLIÆ, SCOTIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ, &c. PROTECTOR.'

"2. That the motto incompassing the other side of the Great Seal shall be, 'MAGNUM SIGILLUM REIPUB. ANGLIÆ, SCOTIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ,' &c.

"3. That the crest and lyon supporter shall be crowned according to the draft in Parliament now showed.

"4. That the size of the Great Seal shall be according to the draught now shown singly in wax; and the Privy Seal according to the largest draft of 3 in another wax now shown.

"5. That the Seal Manual be in the engraving of it fitted to make impressions upon wax.

"6. That Mr. Thomas Symons be sole chief engraver for the mints and seals, and have the fee of per annum annexed to his place.

"7. That Mr. Thomas Symons do forthwith go about the engraving of the several seals aforementioned, and those mentioned in several orders of 25 August, 1654."

These orders were approved by the Lord Protector on 6th March.[a]

On 16th February, 1654-5, it had been ordered[b] that Mr. Thomas Symons be medal-maker to the state.

A somewhat curious change was made in the inscription for the Privy Seal, and for that seal only, when on "20th February it was ordered[c] that the motto incompassing the Privy Seal should be, 'OLIVARIUS DEI GRATIA REIPUB. ANGLIÆ, SCOTIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ, &c. PROTECTOR;'" an assumption of a title over France that I have not seen noticed.

On 16th March, 1654-5, Thomas Symons[d] was appointed medal-maker, with a salary of 20 marks a-year, and the free use of the presses, &c. in the Bower and elsewhere, and chief engraver of the mint and seals, with a salary of 30*l.* per annum;[e] and a warrant was issued to him to proceed to the engraving of a Great Seal, a Privy Seal, and a Seal Manual, according to the rules before prescribed.

On 30th March a Great Seal for Ireland was ordered to be engraved.[f]

Of the Great Seal for England so ordered and also of the Great Seal for Scotland I now exhibit casts. They were used by the Protector himself, but it is beyond dispute that for more than a year and a half after the new Great Seal of England was so

[a] Draft Council Book, vol. xlviii. p. 70. [b] Ib. p. 40. [c] Ib. p. 45. [d] Ib. p. 88.

[e] These salaries were duly paid from 25th March, 1656. See Numismatic Journal, vii. p. 43.

[f] Council Book, xlviii. p. 115. A proof impression of the obverse is in the British Museum.

ordered by Cromwell it was not used by the Lords Commissioners, but that they continued to use the seal ordered by the Parliament of 1651. To prove this I exhibit from our own collections an impression of the seal of 1651, appended to an Inspeximus of proceedings under a Statute of Merchant Staple against Michael Chadwell of Chipping Norton, dated 25th February, 1655-6, a year after the order of Cromwell for his own seal. It is the only impression we possess, and, though somewhat injured by pressure, it affords us an opportunity of seeing a specimen of the finest of Symons' works. A sharper cast of the reverse has been lent to us by Mr. James Spence, F.S.A.

I also exhibit from our own collections a Licence, dated 20th March, 1655-6, to Joseph Taylor, commander of the "Adventure" of London, Thomas Pott, commander of the "John and Thomas" of London, Captain Michael Dibbs, commander of the "Good Hope" of London, John Goswell, master of the "Lion" of London, Captain Francis Steward, commander of the "Phœnix" of London, to trade to India and Persia. The seal is wanting, but the document is curious as having a portrait of Cromwell in colours within the capital letter O.

Again, the only original impression of the seal of 1651 in the MS. department of the British Museum is one which has been cut off from Sloane MS. 3243. This document is a patent, tested at Westminster, 8th September, 1656, granting the office of one of the four Tellers of the Exchequer to George Downing, at a salary of 400*l.* a year for himself and clerks, with certain fees specified in the schedule, and a dwelling-house, in the room of Edward Horsman, who had been appointed with the same salary, &c., by letters patent, dated 31st August, 1654, and had surrendered his patent on 27th August, 1656.

This seal was therefore used after the removal by Cromwell of Whitelock and Widrington, and the delivery of the Great Seal on 15th June, 1656, to Nathaniel Fiennes and John L'Isle. It is probable therefore that Cromwell's own Great Seal was not actually used till after the new settlement of the government on 25th May, 1657.

It will have been noticed that by the amended order of Cromwell's Council, on 20th February, 1654-5, the name of "France" was added to the Lord Protector's title on his Privy Seal, and on that seal only. I have seen no impression of it, and it is not engraved by Vertue.

During the eight months of Richard Cromwell's Protectorate he used a Great Seal in all respects similar to that in use by his father, except that the first seven letters of the name of "Richardus" are substituted for the seven letters "Olivari," and that the "Reip." on the obverse is lengthened into "Reipublicæ." The horse,

the figure, the armour, and the view of London are the same; and there can be little doubt that, like the Great Seals of our early Edwards, the identical seal of Oliver was used by his successor, the new name and the addition to the inscription having been inserted in the matrix.

On 6th May, 1659, the declaration of the army for re-assembling the Long Parliament, which had sat till 20th April, 1653, was presented to the Speaker, and on the following day it met once more.

On Monday, the 9th May, it was ordered [a] that a new Great Seal be with all speed prepared and brought into this House for the present use of the Commonwealth, according to the form of "the last Great Seal made by the authority of this Parliament," that is, the seal of 1651 before described; and that the last Great Seal be brought into this House to be broken; the care of providing the new seal being referred to Mr. Love, who reported the next day that it would be ready on Saturday morning;[b] and on the 13th, he stated that the artificer by him employed had a Great Seal by him, made by a late order, before the meeting of this Parliament, May 7. This was doubtless the seal published by Vertue, with the motto "God with us, 1659," which could never have been used; for on Mr. Love's report the House referred it to him to see the said seal broken and the silver delivered to the artificer: and the Act of Parliament passed on the 14th, after the Great Seal last in use in England (that is, the seal of Richard Lord Protector) had been brought in and broken, and the new Great Seal presented, is conclusive on this matter, for it enacts [d] that the seal, on the one side whereof is engraved the maps of England, Ireland, and the isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and Man (the last not mentioned in the order given for the seal of 1648), with the arms of England and Ireland, and this inscription, viz., "The Great Seal of England, one thousand six hundred fifty-one," and on the other side the sculpture of the Parliament sitting, with this inscription, viz., "In the third year of Freedom by God's blessing restored, one thousand six hundred fifty-one," should from thenceforth be the Great Seal of England, and none other.

WM. DURRANT COOPER.

[a] Journals, vii. p. 647. [b] Ib. p. 648. [c] Ib. p. 650. [d] Ib. p. 654.

VII.—*Second Report of Researches in a Cemetery of the Anglo-Saxon period at Brighthampton, Oxon. Addressed to the* EARL STANHOPE, *President, by* JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, *Secretary.*

Read November 25, 1857.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to report to the Society of Antiquaries the result of renewed researches during the present autumn in the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Brighthampton. The reliques on the table are evidence that on the former occasion this ancient burialplace was but partially explored. I have now the gratification of exhibiting a series of ancient remains inferior in interest to none that research or accident has brought to light in this country.

In my former Report[a] I called the attention of the Society to the fact of the discovery of unmistakeable evidence of the early occupation of this portion of the noble valley of the Thames by people of the Anglo-Saxon race. The indications of early possession are plainly recognised in their observance of what must be considered the most ancient form of sepulture—that by cremation. Whether this usage was observed by all the Germanic people who invaded Britain, and whether its abandonment dates from their conversion to Christianity, are problems which the researches of the archæologist may possibly solve by further and continued investigation. My own conviction is, that information must still be sought by means similar to the present. That cremation was the older and inveterate heathen rite of sepulture cannot be denied; but we have yet to learn how far the practice was modified after the arrival of the Saxons in England; for the total expulsion or extinction of the Romano-British population by the invaders will scarcely be insisted upon in this age of inquiry.

On the present occasion, the traces of sepulture by cremation were more numerous: several urns were discovered *in situ*, some of them ornamented in a manner that the student of our Anglo-Saxon antiquities will not fail to recognise. A considerable portion of the area excavated appears to have been occupied by urns deposited just below the surface; so that, when at some distant period the land was stripped of its greensward, and brought under tillage, many scores of them

[a] Archæologia, Vol. XXXVII. p. 391.

were dislocated and shattered by the ploughshare; the partial preservation of some being solely owing to their having been deposited a little deeper than the rest.

It will be seen by the accompanying Plan, for the preparation of which I am indebted to Mr. Stephen Stone, that these urns were scattered promiscuously among the graves; and, if not affording evidence of the contemporaneous practice of inhumation and cremation, are, at least, proof that the burial of the dead near those whose bodies had been burnt was dictated by a desire that they should lie in the same spot as their kindred, whose remains had undergone the earlier rite of burning.

The excavations were recommenced on the western side of the ground previously explored, but without success. Proceeding in a south-easterly direction, on the fourth day a grave was discovered; and the following details will show the progress of the work.

The numbers are continued from the last report.

No. 15. Skeleton of a man, measuring six feet, with the head to the south-west; the right arm lying across the breast; the hand resting on the middle of a sword, the pommel of which was under the arm-pit; in the lap a knife. This grave was protected by three large stones. Close to the pommel lay a flat, perforated, square piece of horn, which subsequent discoveries show to have been an ornament or appendage of the sword-knot.[a]

No. 16. The grave of a woman. Near the neck two amber beads, and a set of toilette implements of bronze; on the shoulders two flat circular fibulæ and defaced coin pierced for suspension. No knife was discovered.

No. 17. Grave of a girl. At the neck ten glass and paste beads, three coins pierced for suspension, two of Constantine the Great, much worn, and the third with the devices and legends obliterated; also a small metal disc perforated in the centre. On the breast a taper bronze hair-pin, measuring 6 inches.

No. 18. The grave of a woman of advanced age. The head to the south. Right hand in the lap; left, by the side. On the breast a stout bronze pin $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. At the left shoulder a small ring and a pair of tweezers, both of bronze. This grave was only 2 feet 2 inches deep, but was protected by large stones.

No. 19. Grave of a man. The head to the south; left hand by the side; the femur measuring 18 inches. No relique.

[a] Compare 31 and 44. A sword found at Oberflacht was thus accompanied. Archæologia, Vol. XXXVI. p. 139. So also in the graves of Little Wilbraham.

No. 20. Grave of a woman, 3 feet deep. Head north-west; right hand under the thigh. On the shoulders two bronze fibulæ of the trefoil shape; in the lap amber beads. No knife.

No. 21. Skeleton of an old person, in a shallow grave, with the head to the west. No relique.

No. 22. Grave of a woman, 2 feet deep; the skeleton measuring 6 feet. Head to the north-west. At the feet what appeared to be the remains of a wooden vessel. On the right breast four slight silver rings. In the lap, in which lay the hands, were a number of beads, and ten Roman silver coins, comprising,

Caracalla A.D. 196-217.	Three varieties.
Maximinus	Two varieties.
Gordianus	One coin.
Philippus	Two varieties.
Philippus junior	One coin.
Hostilianus A.D. 249-251.	One coin.

On the third finger of the right hand a plain ring of white metal. On the breast two dish-shaped lined fibulæ. By the left hip lay a knife in its metal-mounted sheath; the silver mounting of a purse; a crystal spindle-whirl cut in facets; a large ring of ivory, within which lay a bronze ring 2 inches in diameter.

No. 23. Grave of a woman, 3 feet 3 inches deep. The body reclined on the right side; the knees bent. On the breast several amber beads, and one of crystal; also two bodkins. On the shoulders two dish-shaped fibulæ, lined with gilding, and resembling in pattern a pair found at Fairford.[a] A knife.

No. 24. Grave of a woman, 18 inches deep. Head to the west. The left hand in the lap, the right by the side. At the head an urn of black pottery. (See cut, page 97, fig. 1.)

No. 25. Grave of a child. A bronze bracelet on the left arm; a knife and iron buckle on the breast.

No. 26. Grave of an adult, deranged. No relique.

No. 27. Grave of a man, in close proximity to No. 24. Head to the north-west. Length of skeleton 5 feet 10 inches. At the head an urn of black pottery, very similar to that in grave 24. (See cut, p. 97, fig. 2).

No. 28. A deranged grave. No relique.

No. 29. Grave of a girl, with the head to the south. On the breast two flat circular fibulæ; in the lap two iron rings. Near this grave the workmen came

[a] Fairford Graves, pl. v. fig. 4. Remains of Pagan Saxondom, pl. xix. fig. 9.

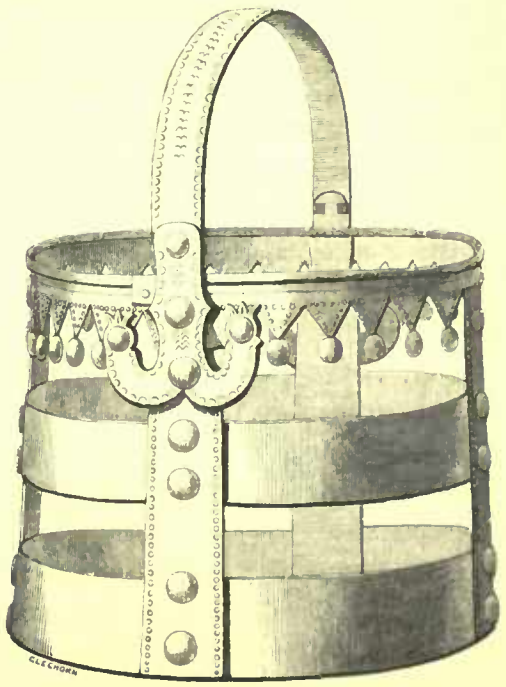
to an urn of black pottery, without ornament, which had been crushed and broken by the plough. The portion that remained still contained the calcined bones of an adult. (See cut, page 97, fig. 5.) On the following day another urn was discovered, similarly damaged. It had contained the bones of a child, and was ornamented with a pattern common on the mortuary urns found in the northern counties. Near this was another urn without ornament.

No. 30. Grave of a young man, with the head to the west, the femur measuring 17½ inches; the legs crossed at the ankles, the knees bent; the right hand in the lap; the left by the side. In the lap a knife; on the breast an iron buckle.

Another ornamented urn, having a smaller urn within it, was this day discovered, but in too shattered a state to be preserved.

On the following day another ornamented urn, containing human bones, was discovered, like the rest, just below the surface, which had exposed them to destruction by the plough.

No. 31. Grave of a man, protected by large stones. Head north-west by north. The right hand in the lap; the left resting on a sword, the pommel of which was under the armpit. The skeleton measured from the ankle-bone to the crown of the head, which was considerably depressed on the breast, 6 feet 7 inches. The femur measured 19 inches, and the tibia 16 inches. A small spear-head lay near the right shoulder, and near the pommel of the sword was a knife, with the point upwards, and a large amber bead. At the head stood a bucket, of the usual shape, but more elaborately ornamented. Among the ornaments of the scabbard is a small cross patée of silver, and several studs and rivets.



Bucket, one-half actual size.

No. 32. A grave with two skeletons much deranged. No relique.

No. 33. Grave of a man, protected by large stones. The head to the south-west. The legs crossed at the ankles. The right hand by the side, the left in the lap. No relique.

No. 34. Grave of a man. The head to the south-west; the femur 18½ inches; the tibia 15 inches; the hands by the sides. No relique.

No. 35. Grave of an old person of small stature. The head to the south-west; at the neck 28 glass and paste beads, one of them double.

No. 36. Grave of an old woman. The head to the south-west; the legs crossed. No relique.

No. 37. Grave of a young man. The head to the south-west; the knees bent to the right. No relique.

No. 38. Grave of an old man. The head to the south-west; the right hand by the side, the left in the lap. On the right breast a knife, at the left shoulder a bronze ring.

No. 39. Grave of a young woman. The head to the north-east; the knees bent to the right. On the breast an iron pin and some fragments of iron; at the left side a knife.

Another urn was this day discovered, containing the calcined bones of a child; and a little further eastward the remains of another urn, containing the bones of an adult.

No. 40. Grave of a woman, about 12 inches deep. The head to the south-west; the skeleton measuring 5 feet 6 inches; the femur 16½ inches. The left hand by the side, the right hand in the lap. On the shoulders two fibulæ, one dish-shaped, the other cruciform.

A little to the south of this grave the workmen discovered a skeleton, which appeared to have been disturbed, the head lying in the pelvis. No relique was observed.

No. 41. Grave of a woman. The head to the south-west; the fragment of a knife on the left side.

No. 42. Grave of a man, 2 feet 10 inches deep; the femur measuring 17¾ inches. On the right arm a knife and a pair of tweezers; on the left breast fragments of an iron buckle.

No. 43. Grave of a man. The head to the south-west; the knees bent to the left; the hands in the lap; an iron buckle on the left shoulder. At the head two urns of black pottery, one of them of a minute form and of rude execution. See cut, page 97, figs. 3 & 4.)

No. 44. Grave of a man, 3 feet deep. The right arm lying in the lap; the left resting on a sword, the hilt of which was under the armpit. Near the guard were two beads of glass, doubtless like the amber bead discovered with No. 31, the ornaments of the sword-knot. A knife lay between the knees. The femur measured 18¼ inches. In excavating this grave the remains of a skeleton were

found, with a spear-head, which appeared to have been disturbed to make room for the last occupant.

No. 45. Grave of a woman, 3 feet deep. The head to the south-west; the femur 10½ inches; the right hand on the breast, the left by the side; 7 amber and paste beads at the neck; on the breast a knife; on the shoulders two circular fibulæ with an acus of bronze.

No. 46. Grave of a woman, 2 feet 3 inches deep. The legs bent to the right; on the breast a knife; 6 large amber beads near the neck; on the shoulders a pair of dish-shaped fibulæ.

No. 47. Grave of a woman, much disturbed. The head to the east; the femur measuring 17 inches. A large glass spindle-whirl and an iron knife near the breast. A small glass bead and the half of another of amber.

No. 48. Grave of a woman, 2 feet deep. The head to the west. Near the right hip a brass circular stud resembling a small fibula. On the right shoulder a knife. The grave was protected by large stones, some of which had been subjected to the action of fire.

An ornamented dark-coloured urn, containing human bones, but much shattered by the plough, was discovered near this grave.

No. 49. Grave of a woman of advanced age. The head to the south-west; the knees bent to the right; the left hand in the lap. In the left cavity of the pelvis lay a large crystal spindle-whirl; on the breast a knife; on the shoulders two small dish-shaped fibulæ, of a pattern not hitherto observed. Between the right arm and the body lay an ivory ring, 5 inches in diameter, exactly similar to that found in grave No. 22. Within this ring lay two rings of bronze, a perforated stone, and two objects in iron, probably a key and a knife. A previous interment had been disturbed to make room for the occupant of this grave. Three beads, and the half of a large one of amber pierced again for suspension, were also found.

Ivory Ring, one-third actual size.

No. 50. Grave of an old man, 2 feet deep. The head to the south-west; the skeleton measuring 6 feet 2 inches; the femur 17½ inches; the legs crossed at the ankles. In this grave only, were remarked the remains of what had been a coffin or more probably of a coarse cloth or hide in which the body had been enveloped.

No. 51. Grave of a woman. The head to the south-west; the hands in the lap; at

the waist the bronze tag of a girdle; on the right breast a large fibula, of a pattern much resembling that found at Fairford;[a] on the shoulders two flat plated circular fibulæ. A knife on the breast, and near the hand a single amber bead.

No. 52. Grave of a woman. Head to the west; the femur measuring 16½ inches; the right hand on the body, the left by the side. No relique.

No. 53. Grave of a young woman. The head to the west; the knees bent to the left, but the head upright; by the right hand a knife. In this grave an unusual number of fragments of Roman as well as of Saxon pottery were discovered.

No. 54. Grave of a woman of advanced age, 2 feet deep. The right knee bent; the left arm by the side, the right bent with the hand open above the right shoulder. No relique.

The contents of a mortuary urn were found here, and in the next trench were discovered the remains of a bone comb, an iron knife, and an iron girdle-hanger; and in the loose soil two brass coins of Victorinus, with some fragments of Roman pottery, one of them remarkable for its ornamentation. The bones of animals and some oyster shells were also found in a deep pit, mingled with ashes, affording strong presumptive evidence of the occupation of this site by the previous conquerors of Britain.

In reviewing the foregoing details a few remarks are suggested. It will be seen that on this occasion three swords were discovered.[b] That in grave No. 15 is a plain massive weapon, 35¼ inches long from the pommel to the point, and 2½ inches broad at the fort. The weapon found in grave No. 31 is of a superior description, and measures from the pommel to the end of the chape 37¾ inches, and is only 2¼ inches broad at the fort. The chape is of bronze, inlaid with zoomorphic figures in gold, and is altogether a novelty among reliques of this period. The weapon found in grave No. 15 closely resembles that discovered at Fairford,[c] and may possibly be an example of the more primitive weapon. The sword from grave 44, although of plain form, and without a chape, resembles the more costly example from grave 31. The finding of such weapons in this proportion strongly favours the conjecture that this cemetery contained the remains of the individual from whom the village derives its name,[d] his kindred, dependants, and bread-eaters.

It has been supposed that, as the swords of these people were made of finely tempered steel, but few of them have been preserved in their graves; but this is at variance with the experience of all who have been engaged in such researches; and

[a] Fairford Graves, pl. ii. Remains of Pagan Saxondom, pl. vii.

[b] A sword was found when a gravel-pit was opened here about twenty years ago.

[c] Fairford Graves, pl. x. fig. 1.

[d] Archæologia, Vol. XXXVII. p. 392.

an attentive study of the laws and institutions of the Anglo-Saxons also leads to a different conclusion. The comparative rarity of swords is in reality referable to the fact that it was not the ordinary weapon of a man under the rank of a thane. This is clearly apparent in Canute's Law of Heriots. Of the 750 graves explored by Brian Faussett, in the county of Kent, only 15 yielded swords. At Little Wilbraham, in Cambridgeshire, 4 swords only were obtained from 188 graves. Not one example of this weapon was found in upwards of 60 graves at Harnham, in South Wiltshire. Now at Brighthampton we have 4 swords (including the one found there twenty years ago,) in less than 60 graves. With such evidence we may conclude that a Saxon family settled here, and that in the name of the village we probably have, though in a corrupt form, that of the Saxon chief or head of such family, Brighthelm, the number of swords indicating the number of males above the rank of ceorl.

The occurrence of three spindle-whirls, two of them formed of crystal and the third of glass, are significant proofs of the sex of the occupants of graves 22, 47, and 49, if other indications were wanting.[a]

[a] On this subject the following note, addressed to A. W. Franks, Esq., Director S.A., and read before the Society in the last Session, 29 April, 1858, may not be inappropriate here.

My dear Sir,—It will be in the recollection of yourself and others who take an interest in our Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, that in the Session 1854 I communicated to the Society an account of my researches in an ancient cemetery at Wingham, Kent. (Archæologia, Vol. XXXVI. p. 176.)

Among the few relics then discovered was the object afterwards figured in my "Remains of Pagan Saxondom." (Plate xxxvi. fig. 5.)

This object I have in that work erroneously described as a vorticellum or spindle-whirl. It was discovered lying near the left arm of a female skeleton, *an iron rod lying within it*, and imparting a ferruginous tinge to the portion on which it rested. The slight form of this rod led me into the error, which it is the purpose of this note to correct; and I am still at a loss to account for its being formed of iron instead of wood, for it is plainly a portion of the distaff itself, and not any part of the spindle, as I had supposed.

The object to which I have now to direct your attention will be readily recognised by comparison with the distaff now exhibited, used at this day in Italy, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Arthur Ashpitel

From this it will at once be seen that the ring found at Wingham forms the bridge that supports the cradle. An object in all respects identical was found at Little Wilbraham; and is figured in "Saxon Obsequies." (Plate xxiii. fig. 102.) The inner diameter of the latter ring, however, is apparently formed to receive a staff of wood and not of iron, the aperture being too wide to receive a staff of that metal.

It will be remembered, that at Ozingel in Kent, and in the Isle of Wight, there were discovered in the graves of women objects apparently originally sword-blades, but with the tops at some inches from the point hammered into a round form, as if intended to be inserted into some object which had perished. Could these have been the handles of distaves? Their flat form would fit them for insertion in the girdle, but in other respects they must have been ponderous and inconvenient. In the present state of our knowledge this must be a matter of conjecture; but the fact that the Anglo-Saxon woman was buried with her distaff

I am unable to offer more than a conjecture as to the use of the large ivory rings discovered with Nos. 22 and 49. All possible care was taken in extricating them, and one of them has been preserved entire by immersion in gelatine. They appear to have formed the framework of a kind of bag, probably for holding sewing materials and implements of housewifery. Examples of these rings, supposed to be armillæ, were discovered in the Fairford graves: they are formed of elephant ivory.

The purse-guard and knife with its sheath, found with No. 22, are novelties: it is much to be regretted that they were not recovered in a more perfect state of preservation.

In No. 20 an opportunity was afforded for observing the manner in which fibulæ of that form were worn; namely, with the heads downwards. In this way they appear on the dresses of the figures represented on Consular dyptichs. A large fibula found with No. 51 was placed in a similar manner on the right breast.

Nos. 24 and 27 are remarkable for the absence of reliques, with the exception of an urn of black pottery at the head of each. These are ornamented with characteristic markings, and are of neat workmanship.

The pair of small dish-shaped fibulæ found with No. 49 are particularly deserving attention. They bear in the centre a figure very closely resembling the letter ϒ on the coins of Offa. The same figure occurs on a pair of fibulæ found at Fairford,[a] but on those it is repeated, and forms a circle. Its occurrence in an isolated form invites examination, but I forbear to offer any conjectures as to its significance.

In graves 47 and 49 we have evidence of the estimation in which amber was held by the Anglo-Saxon women. In each was found a fragment of a bead which had been again pierced for suspension without altering its shape.

It will be observed that in several of these graves no relique whatever was discovered, and that in three of them urns of black pottery were found without any other object. These are facts which claim the especial attention of the student of our Anglo-Saxon remains. The present state of our knowledge forbids any attempt at an explanation of these peculiarities.

is established beyond dispute, and the placing of it on record may serve as a guide to those who may be engaged in similar researches, and help to interpret the use of objects which are recovered in a fragmentary state. I am, &c. J. Y. Akerman.

[a] Archæologia, Vol. XXXIV. pl. x. fig. 2. Fairford Graves, pl. iii. fig. 4. Remains of Pagan Saxondom, pl. xix. fig. 2.

I cannot conclude this report without again recording my obligations to Mr. Stone, who rendered me throughout the most effective assistance, not only in extricating the reliques from the compact soil in which they were imbedded—I may say concreted—but also in the restoration of such objects as were recovered in a damaged or fragmentary condition.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

J. Y. AKERMAN.

To the Earl Stanhope, Pres. S. A.
&c. &c. &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Quekett of the Royal College of Surgeons has favoured me with the following remarks on the Crania and other remains found in these graves.

Jaw from Grave 31.—This jaw presents certain peculiarities worthy of notice. On the left side the ascending ramus has been broken off a little behind the process for the attachment of the temporal muscle, which is termed coronoid; this is unfortunate, as in all probability something peculiar would have been discovered in the other process, which is the articular one, to account for the curious manner in which the teeth have been worn. On comparing the jaw with that of a man seven feet high, many of the measurements agree; whilst the great peculiarity consists in the position of the rami. In this jaw the ascending ramus is placed at right angles with those containing the teeth, whilst in the recent one the same processes are inclined at an angle of 110 degrees; and when the horizontal rami are placed on a level surface the front part or chin stands up at right angles to the level plane, and the teeth are also vertically situated; but in the recent jaw the parts are inclined at the same angle of 110 degrees. This peculiarity seems more or less characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, as in the jaws from Harnham Hill the same feature may be observed; whilst in fifty-four recent jaws in this museum all have the ascending rami inclined nearly at the same angle as that of the man of seven feet before noticed. The teeth are all present, including the wisdom teeth, one on each side; they have been much used, and all those on the right side, including also the two incisors and canine of the left side, are considerably flattened, so much so, that, instead of being on a plane with those of the left ramus, the canine of that side and the two incisors are nearly one-fourth of an inch higher. In the collection of lower jaws in this museum, amounting to many hundreds, there is not a single instance in which the teeth have been so singularly worn.

Sternum, Grave 31.—On carefully comparing this the first bone of the sternum with the corresponding one in the skeletons of men of the respective heights of six, seven, and eight feet, it was found to agree completely with that of the skeleton of seven feet. The upper portion of this bone, on the right side, is a little different in shape to that on the left, and the articulations for the clavicle and first rib on that side are lower by a quarter of an inch than those on the right. The articulation also for the first rib is of smaller size, and situated more posteriorly than that on the right. From the greater projection of the articular surfaces of the left side, both in an upward and outward direction, it would appear that some deposition of new bone, the result either of accident or disease, had taken place at this point, and, if the latter were the case, it proceeded probably from rheumatism.

Bones of the left hand, Grave 31.—These consist of three metacarpals and of nine phalanges, all of which bear a proportionate size to that of the sternum bone; and the most interesting of the three metacarpals is that of the thumb, the upper surface of which is broad and flat, and exhibits very plainly the articular surfaces for the sesamoid bones. The other two bones have well developed ridges for the attachment of muscles, and that of the forefinger has its distal extremity slightly enlarged on one side, as if from rheumatism. On comparing these bones as to length, &c. with those of the hand of a man undoubtedly of seven feet high, they were found to be on an average just one-tenth of an inch shorter, whilst, when compared with those of the hand of a man of average height, they exceeded them by one-fifth of their entire length. I therefore consider myself warranted in concluding that the person to whom these bones belonged must have been a man nearly if not fully seven feet in height.

Skull, No. 46.—The cranium of an Anglo-Saxon woman, which from the pressure of the soil in which the interment took place is considerably distorted. The right side of the face has been pressed upon the lower jaw in such a manner as to force forward from their sockets the four upper incisor teeth. The head itself has also been forcibly bent forwards on the chest, so that the four upper cervical vertebræ may be seen in the interval between the foramen magnum and the inner side of the lower jaw. When first placed in my hands, this and the other skulls from the same locality were all coated and filled with the soil in which they were found, and on the removal of this the bone was so brittle that it crumbled to pieces very readily, and of all the skulls only two could be so far restored as to have their principal measurements taken, and these were females. The soil itself was very peculiar; it contained numerous minute land shells, and was made up principally of small grains of rounded silex; and, if a lump of three or more inches in cubical measure were placed in water, in less than two minutes it would as it were crumble to atoms and fall to the bottom of the water without discolouring it. The soil was threaded in every direction by minute roots, which served the purpose of keeping it together, and in the specimens now under examination every foramen was occupied by them, and their eroding effects may be seen upon various parts of the head and face; the markings produced being very much like those of the ramifications of blood-vessels.

Judging from the teeth, this skull (No. 46) must be that of a person of middle age, the crowns, both of the molars and incisors, being very much flattened, as may be seen on the right side, where those in the lower jaw are exposed to view. The general appearance of this skull is very like that figured in the "Crania Britannica" of Thurnam and Davis as an Anglo-Saxon from West Harn-

ham, with the exception of this being a few tenths of an inch smaller in two directions. The measurements are here given.

Skull, No. 46.—

Horizontal circumference	20 inches
Longitudinal diameter	6·9 „
Frontal region, length	5·1 „
„ „ breadth	4·6 „
„ „ height	
Parietal region, length	4·9 „
„ „ breadth	5·5 „
„ „ height	
Occipital region, length	4·6 „
„ „ breadth	5·3 „
„ „ height	
Face, length	4·3 „
„ breadth	5·1 „

Skull, No. 53.—This is larger and smoother than the last, and has much more the character of a female cranium. In the interment the facial portion has not been distorted, but the head has been forcibly bent forward, and all the cervical vertebræ are impacted between the foramen magnum and the chin, except the first, which was so crushed as to have dropped out piecemeal. The teeth are well preserved, the upper ones projecting some little distance in front of the lower. The measurements of the skull are here given; they exceed those of No. 46.

Skull, No. 53.—

Horizontal circumference	20·8 inches
Longitudinal diameter	7·5 „
Frontal region, length	5·0 „
„ „ breadth	4·6 „
„ „ height	
Parietal region, length	5·1 „
„ „ breadth	5·1 „
„ „ height	
Occipital region, length	4·9 „
„ „ breadth	5·1 „
„ „ height	
Face, length	4·2 „
„ breadth	4·8 „

From the general smoothness of this cranium I conclude that, like No. 46, it must be that of a female, the ridges or marks for the attachment of muscles being less strongly developed than those of the other skulls, some of which are decidedly males; and these muscular impressions would appear, when connected with the larger dimensions of the head, to be the principal points of distinguishing the males from the females. A strong family likeness, so to speak, is common

to nearly all the skulls from this last exploration. All the skulls have more or less projecting upper jaws (*prognathic*), and the teeth are worn flat.

Amber.— In the form of round, flattened masses, each with a hole in the centre. The amber is not of the finest kind, but has a distinct vitreous fracture; it more nearly resembles the resin known as copal than true amber. In fact, many of the specimens now found and sold as amber are not really the product of the *pinus succinifer*. They may be readily known from true amber by their darker colour, their vitreous fracture, and their tendency to split up into very minute fragments. As far as I am aware, no amber of this kind has ever been found indigenous to this country, the nearest approach to it being the Copaline or Highgate resin, which is of a dull yellow colour. It would therefore appear that the amber in question, like most of that now in use, was probably obtained from the shores of the Baltic.

Wood, forming part of a bucket, from Grave 31.—This fragment was very readily split up into fibres, and the fibres exhibited the bordered pores and spirals characteristic of yew.

Wood, forming part of the sheath of a sword, from Grave 31.—This readily split up into fibres, all of which were largely impregnated with ferruginous matter; the most minute markings, both of the wood and of the vessels, are preserved, and, on comparison with specimens of recent wood, the markings on the vessels clearly show that the wood was not coniferous, but nearly allied if not identical with the ash.

Fragments of cloth adhering to Dagger, Grave 22.—This is a piece of coarse linen, which, from contact with bronze, is stained of a bright green colour. The texture of the cloth is well seen on one side.

Ivory, Grave 22.—These are fragments of a transverse section of the tusk of an elephant, and exhibit the dentinal tubuli quite as clearly as any sections taken from a recent tusk, although slightly stained with some ferruginous matter on the exterior.

JOHN QUEKETT.

Royal Coll. Surgeons,
24 Nov. 1858.

Plate II.

Fig. 1. The sword from grave 31. One fourth of the actual size.

Fig 2. Portion of the bronze pommel of the same. Actual size. The construction may be seen in the examples of swords engraved in "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," plate xxiv.

Fig. 3. Stamped and engraved ornament at the guard, apparently of base silver.

Figs. 4, 5. Two of four bronze studs found near the guard.

Fig. 6. A small cross patée, of base silver, found with figs. 4, 5.

Fig. 7. The chape of the same sword.

Fig. 8. Sword found in grave 44.

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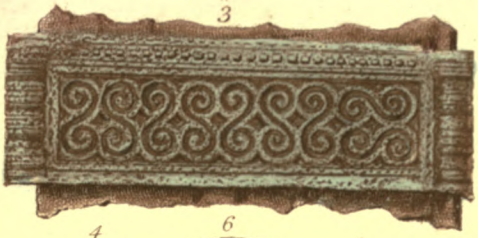
¼ ACTUAL SIZE

2

3



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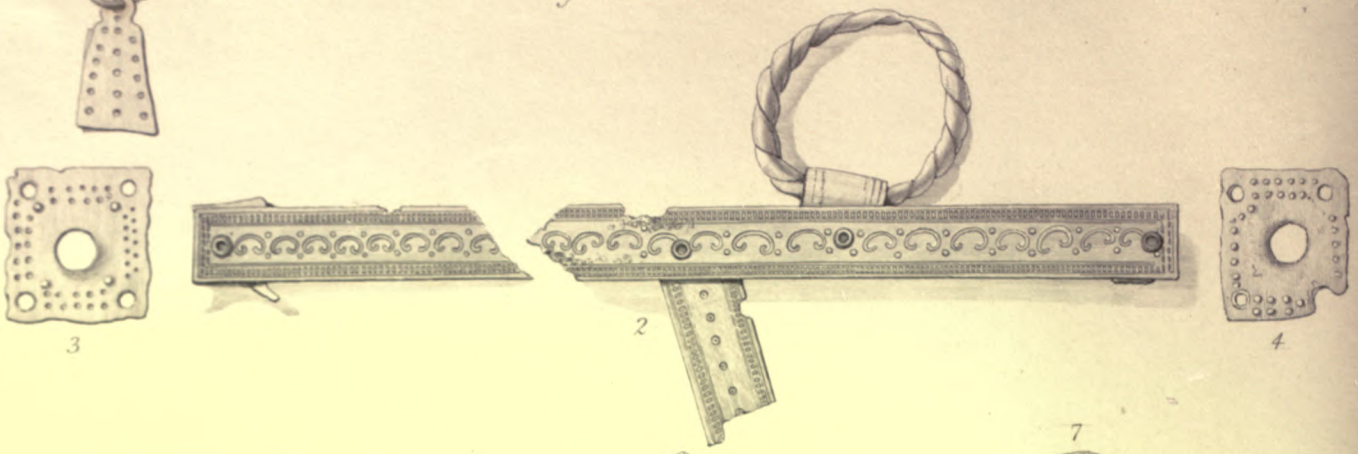
8

¼ ACTUAL SIZE

Fig. 1.



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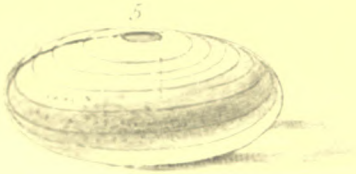

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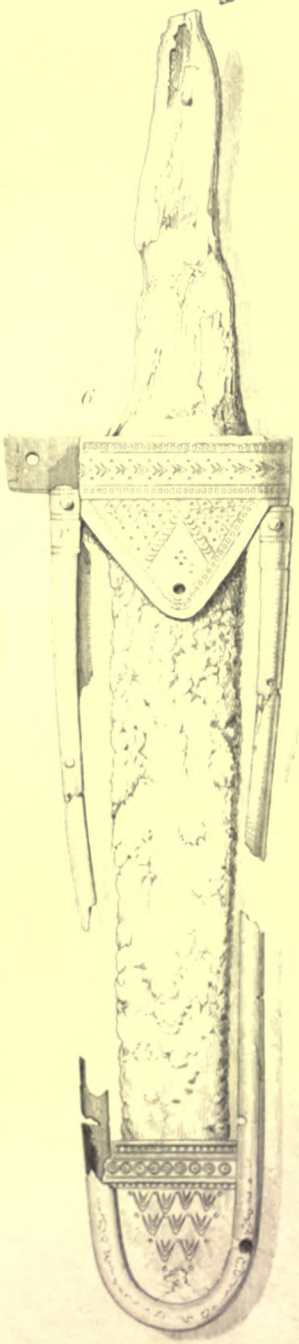

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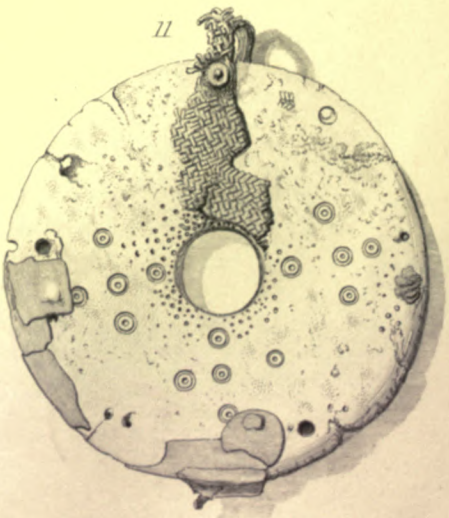

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Plate III. (all of the actual size.)

Fig. 1. Hair-pin of bronze, from grave 17.

Figs. 2, 3, 4. Portions of the metal framework of a purse discovered in grave 22.

Fig. 5. Spindle-whirl of dark green glass, from grave 47.

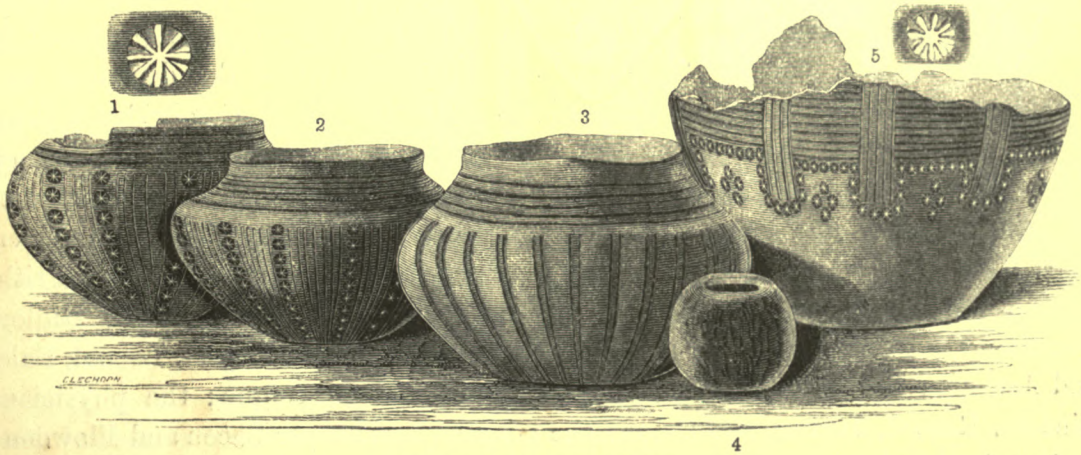
Fig. 6. Knife in metal-mounted sheath, from grave 22.

Fig. 7. Fibula of bronze, the inside gilded, from grave 49.

Fig. 8. Crystal spindle-whirl, discovered in grave 22.

Fig. 9. Saucer-shaped fibula of bronze, lined with an embossed and gilded circular plate of the same metal, from grave 22.

Figs. 10, 11. A bead of amethystine quartz, and a bone disc, discovered by Mr. Stephen Stone in the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Yelford. See his account of these researches in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. iv. page 213. No. 16. The edge of the bone disc appears to have been shod with metal, and a fragment of linen adheres to the surface, and, but for the iron loop with which it is furnished, it might be considered a portion of the distaff, like that discovered at Wingham, which was also found with a bead of amethystine quartz.



URNS FOUND AT BRIGHTHAMPTON.

VIII.—*Some Additions to the Biographies of Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith: in a Letter addressed to Charles Henry Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., one of the Authors of the Athenæ Cantabrigienses, by* John Gough Nichols, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read March 31st, 1859.

My dear Sir, March 27, 1859.

Every cultivator of our national biography and literary antiquities must rejoice at the appearance of the first volume of the Athenæ Cantabrigienses. That a work which was so obviously suggested nearly two centuries ago by the Athenæ of the sister University, which has been contemplated by so many successive collectors, and for which such large, though imperfect, accumulations have been formed, should, in spite of ever-increasing difficulties, at length greet our view in substantial paper and print, is a victory over old Time of which any generation may fairly be proud; and I therefore cannot be thought to magnify its accomplishment too highly if, on this first public allusion to the work at the Society of Antiquaries, I hail its authors as conquerors who have overtaken the spoiler, and recovered from his grasp some of his most estimable treasures.

As the epoch or commencement of the work that century has been adopted which is distinguished beyond all others by the great changes it produced in academical studies, and by the concurrent Reformation of the doctrines and discipline of the Church, and during which the University of Cambridge is illustrated, among other names little less memorable, with those of the statesmen More, Cromwell, Elyot, Seymour duke of Somerset, Dudley duke of Northumberland, Morysine, and Paget; the prelates, Rotherham, Fox, Fisher, Gardyner, Pole, Tunstall, Grindal, and Parker; the reformers and martyrs, Bilney, Frith, Tindal, Barnes, Bucer, Taylor, Ferrar, Cardmaker, Bradford, Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, Coverdale, and Lever; the great scholars Erasmus, Lupset, Leland, Bale, and Ascham; the poets Skelton, Wyat, Howard and Gascoigne; the physicians Linacre, Record, Turner, and Caius; the lawyers, lord keeper Bacon and Plowden; besides hosts of others once even better known at Cambridge, though now less familiar to the world at large.

It is with respect to two of these great men that I have some particulars to communicate to you. Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith were at the same

time the scholars of King Henry the Eighth in the university of Cambridge; they were also at one and the same time his regius professors, Cheke of Greek and Smith of Civil Law; and they both afterwards rose to be privy councillors and secretaries of state.

As late as the year 1565 Cheke and Smith were still regarded as the two great ornaments of the university of Cambridge; for Dr. Wilson (afterwards himself a secretary of state) writing to Haddon, ambassador at Bruges, then remarked, with reference to the Queen's intended visit to Oxford, that she would not find there anyone equal to Smith or Cheke—nec Smithi ibi simile quicquam aut Cheki occurret.

Sir John Cheke is, in many respects, one the most interesting personages of the century, a man of great erudition, unblemished morals, a gentle temper, and sincere religion—deficient only, like Cranmer, in that firmness and intrepidity of soul, and that unflinching faith by which some of his contemporaries were enabled "the threats of pain and ruin to despise," and to contemplate without dismay the pangs of martyrdom. As with Cranmer, when put to that awful trial, the resolution of Cheke failed him; and, like Cranmer, his apostacy was followed by the bitterest reproaches of an afflicted conscience. He did not again fall, like Cranmer, into the hands of the tormentors; but he died, a victim of shame and regret, at the premature age of forty-three.

I have first to present you with some fresh particulars of this memorable man. They have been suggested by the remarks of the Italian physician Girolamo Cardano, who visited England in 1552, and resided with Cheke during his stay in London. Cardano was a great astrologer, and was always desirous to cast the nativities of his friends.[a] To humour this fancy, Cheke furnished him with the dates of some of the most important events of his own life, and these were subsequently printed and published by Cardano. They consist of the exact date, to a minute, of Cheke's birth;[b] the dates of two illnesses he had encountered from fever and inflammation of the lungs, the date of his appointment to be prince Edward's schoolmaster, the date of his marriage, and another date, of his nearly losing his

[a] Cardano cast the King's nativity, and contemplated a long life for him. After the age of fifty-five years, three months, and seventeen days, he was to be attacked by several diseases. See the details at length in my memoir of the King, prefixed to The Literary Remains of Edward VI. p. ccxv.

[b] The scheme of Cheke's nativity published by Cardano shows that he was born at Cambridge, on the 16th of June, 1514, at five hours and fifteen minutes after mid-day. Another horoscope of Cheke's nativity, calculated by Sir Thomas Smith, and published in Strype's Life, (from the book now the MS. Sloane 325,) states his birth to have occurred on the same day, but at five minutes past 2 p.m.

employment, which is the most remarkable of the whole, because it supplies information that has not hitherto been obtained from any other source.

It states plainly a circumstance in Cheke's career of which our other intimations are obscure, and which has escaped your notice in the Athenæ Cantabrigienses, that Cheke suffered a temporary eclipse of court favour.

In the ordinary biographies of Cheke, derived from Strype's Life of him, for instance in that given in the General Biographical Dictionary by Alexander Chalmers, it has been stated that "in May 1549 he retired to Cambridge, upon some disgust he had taken at the court;" and that "he returned to court in the winter of 1549, but met there with great uneasiness on account of some offence given by his wife to Anne duchess of Somerset." These two items of information, I am now enabled to say, are reversed from their proper order. It is clear that the latter incident belongs to the January of the historical year 1549, at which time Cheke's disgrace at court occurred, and the former to the following May, when Cheke was again settled at Cambridge, and refurnishing his library there. Both circumstances were derived by Strype from letters of Cheke's own writing, which are still extant.

Among the dates preserved by Cardano we have a distinct day named for the event of Cheke's disgrace.

"Anno 1549 die undecima Januarij a pristino honore fermè decidit."

And again Cardano repeats,

"Dixi, quod anno 1549 die undecima Januarij fermè excidit ab officio."

So that we find that on the 11th Jan. 1548-9 Cheke nearly lost his office of schoolmaster to the King, or rather entirely lost it for a time—a fact which has hitherto escaped the notice of his biographers.

Whether Cheke's dismissal had any connection with the prosecution of the lord admiral Seymour, which occurred at nearly the same time, I find no precise information[a]; but in his letter written at the end of the same month of January, which was quoted by Strype, there is evident, though obscure, allusion to the lord admiral's danger. It is a letter addressed by Cheke to the duchess of Somerset, chiefly to solicit pardon for some offence which his wife had given to her grace; but it begins with a reference to his own position. Although evidently in no great personal alarm, Cheke remarks that "in this desert of other

[a] Cheke was examined respecting the lord Admiral's conduct, and his "confession," dated on the 20th Feb. 1548-9, is printed by Mr. Tytler in his "England under Edward VI. and Mary," vol. i. p. 154. Cheke had on several occasions received money from the lord Admiral, as was admitted by the latter and by the King.

men's trouble, and mishap of mine own, I precisely know not of your grace's favourable goodness towards me." I shall append an accurate copy of this letter from the original now in the Harleian collection. Its very dating is remarkable, for it shows that Cheke, whose celebrity rests principally on his having reformed the pronunciation of Greek, and who was the author of a less successful attempt to remodel the orthography of his native language, was also in advance of his contemporaries in adopting the New Style in chronology. To make his intention clear he adds the year of the King's reign, "the xxvij. of January 1549, 2° Edw. 6." that is, the year which other people in this country then called 1548.

It was probably upon this retirement of Cheke that Sir Anthony Cooke was summoned to superintend the education of Edward the Sixth.

Cheke withdrew to Cambridge; from whence, at the end of the following May, he wrote the short but remarkable letter which was seen by Strype, and quoted by him as showing Cheke's disgust with the court. It is now in the second volume of the Lansdowne Manuscripts,[a] and is directed—

"To his loving frende M^r^ Peter Osborne.[b]

"I fele the caulme of quietnes, being tost afore with storms, and have felt ambition's bitter gal, poisoned with hope of hap. And therefore I can be meri on the bankes side without dangring miself on the sea. Yo^r^ sight is ful of gai thinges abrode, which I desire not, as thinges sufficientli known and valewd. O what pleasure is it to lacke pleasures, and how honorable is it to fli from honor's throws. Among other lacks I lack bucram to lai betwene y^e^ bokes and bordes in mi studi, which I now have trimd. I have nede of xxx yardes. Chuse yow the color. I prai yow bi me a reme of paper at London. Fare ye wel. With coñendacõns to yo^r^ mother, M^r^ Lane and his wife, M^r^ and M^res^ Saxee, with other. From Cambridge the xxx. of Mai 1549, 3 Ed. 6. Yo^rs^ known, Joãn Cheke."

It does not appear how long Cheke was absent from his place as the King's schoolmaster: it is after the lapse of more than a year that the following passage occurs in a letter written by John Rodolph Stumphius to Henry Bullinger, dated the 28th Feb. 1549-50: "Master Cheke and Master Traheron have entered upon the duties committed to them by the council: the one, that of tutor to the King: the other, that of tutor to the duke of Suffolk, who is of the same age as the King."[c]

[a] See a portion of this engraved in fac-simile in Nichols's Autographs, 1829, Plate 20.

[b] It was at the house of his friend Peter Osborne, (sometime a scholar of Cambridge, and afterwards remembrancer of the exchequer,) that Cheke breathed his last on the 13th Sept. 1557. Osborne resided in Wood-street, Cheapside, and Cheke was buried in his parish church of St. Alban, Wood-street.

[c] Zurich Letters, second series, p. 465.

When we contemplate the studies and pursuits of such men as Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith from the brighter light of our more advanced knowledge, it is impossible not to wonder for a time that their deep and varied learning did not render them superior to that great superstition of the old philosophers, the art of astrology. But there are many other instances of the like combination of wisdom and folly. Cardano, whom Cheke entertained in London, is described by Tiraboschi in his History of Italian Literature, as "one of the profoundest and most fertile geniuses that Italy has produced," and as "one who made rare and precious discoveries in mathematics and medicine," but at the same time as "a man foolishly lost in judicial astrology—a man more credulous over dreams than any silly girl—a man, in short, of whom, if we read only certain of his works, we may say he was the greatest fool that ever lived."[a]

I am not aware of any proof from Sir John Cheke's own hand of his addiction to astrology, but from several collateral circumstances it cannot be doubted. He gave both to Cardano and to Smith the data for casting the horoscope of his own nativity. I find in one of the Latin exercises of King Edward the Sixth, which were written under Cheke's dictation and superintendence, an assertion that by the course of the stars our bodies are governed and ruled, as well as the bodies of all beasts, herbs, flowers, trees, and everything else.[b] We are told by Strype that Cheke's "too much confidence in that uncertain art of astrology contributed in part to the most deplorable conclusion of his life." This assertion, like many others, Strype makes without citing any authority, but I have traced it to a passage in Foxe's Book of Martyrs,[c] which is as follows:—"In the ende so it fell

[a] Cardano's works were collected by Charles Spon, and printed at Paris, in ten folio volumes, 1663. The fullest memoir hitherto compiled of him is that by Mr. Henry Morley, published in London, 1854, in two vols. 8vo.

[b] King Edward's declamation, which was composed in or about the year 1551, is a defence of Astronomy, which had evidently shared in the bad repute earned by her illegitimate sister—Sunt enim qui tenent eam neque utilem esse corpori neque animo neque Reipublicæ. Nor do we find the King properly instructed to separate these two branches of the study of the stars: for he asks, "Quid vero magis naturale quàm cognitio elementorum cœli, astrorum, stellarum, planetarum, *per quorum cursus nostra corpora, et non solum nostra sed etiam omnium bestiarum eis subjectarum, omnium herbarum, florum, arborum, frugum, vinorum, cæterorumque omnium gubernantur et reguntur?*" See The Literary Remains of King Edward VI. (printed for the Roxburghe Club,) Oratio XI B.

[c] For Foxe's authority it would probably be vain now to inquire. John Vowell, alias Hoker, in his Life of Sir Peter Carewe, says nothing to the point, but he describes Sir John Cheke as being very dejected upon his apprehension. "They might speak the one to the other, but other comfort there was none. Howbeit Sir John Cheke, although very learned, but not acquainted with the cross of troubles, was still in great despair, great anguish, and heaviness, and would not be comforted, so great was his sorrow; but Sir Peter

that he woulde needes take hys journey with Sir Peter Carew, from hie Germanie unto Bruxels, and that (as I have credibly heardc of them which knew somewhat) not without the forecasting of his adventured journey by the constellation of starres and disposition of the heavens above. For as he was a man famously expert and trained in the knowledge of sundrie artes and sciences, so was he a little too much addicted to the curious practising of this starre divinitie, which we call Astrologie. But how soever it was, or what soever it was that the starres did promise him, truth was that men heere in earth kept litle promise with him."—(Foxe's Actes and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1955.)

I have only further to remark, in reference to Sir John Cheke, that the poetical production entitled "An Epitaph or Death Dole of the right excellent Prince King Edward the Sixth," which occurs as No. 30 in the catalogue of his literary works given in the Athenæ Cantabrigienses, was not his, but a production of William Baldwyn, one of the authors of the Mirrour of Magistrates. It was originally published with Baldwyn's name in 1560, under the title of "The Funeralles of King Edward the Sixt;" but in 1610 was again printed from a second manuscript, and then erroneously assigned to Sir John Cheke. It is remarkable that both editions have been reprinted, the former for the Roxburghe Club in 1817, and the latter in Mr. Trollope's History of Christ's Hospital, 1834; but the identity of the two books has hitherto been unknown.

I now turn to the biography of the second of Henry the Eighth's two great Cambridge scholars, Sir Thomas Smith, a man who was acknowledged by his contemporaries to be highly accomplished in every department of science, and yet whose predilection for astrology is testified by evidence more certain and incontestable than in the case of Cheke. A volume in the handwriting of Sir Thomas Smith, entirely filled with astrological calculations, is now preserved in the Sloane collection (MS. Addit. 325). He relates therein that he had been first struck with this fancy in the 20th and 21st years of his age; and, after he had filled many important stations in church and state, it returned to him during his inforced idleness in the days of Queen Mary. "About the months of October, November, and December, 1550, (as he has recorded,) I was assailed with the strongest passion and desire for learning astrology, so that I could scarcely sleep at night from thinking of it."

Carew, whose heart could not be broken, nor mind overthrown with any adversities, and yielding to no such matter, comforted the other, and encouraged him to be of a good stomach, persuading him (as though he had been a divine) to patience and good contentation." The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew, by John Maclean, Esq. F.S.A., 1857, 8vo. p. 65. Also in Archæologia, vol. XXVIII. from Sir T. Phillipps's MS.

It is thus again from the materials of this fanciful science that we are presented with valuable biographical information. As the basis of his astrological calculations, Sir Thomas Smith sat down, in chronological array, the principal events of his past career; and as these memoranda, resting upon the best authority, were unknown to Strype when he wrote the life of Smith,[a] and have not yet been interwoven into his biography, I shall now submit them to your notice.

The notes are chronologically arranged according to the years of the writer's age; and they commence from his earliest infancy. After stating the date of his birth on the 23d of December, 1513,—and which in itself is remarkable, as Strype discusses the question whether Smith was born in 1514, 1518, or 1512,—he commences by relating that in the first and second years of his life he was lively, playful, and prattling, admired above other infants, esteemed a child of the greatest promise, and especially the delight of his father; but when his third year was completed, or thereabouts, after a nightmare in his sleep, he fell into an exceedingly severe fever, which held him for two or three years, with little hope of life, and from the effects of which he never seemed perfectly relieved until he was twenty-one or twenty-two. During all that time he was low-spirited, seldom laughing, never playing, yet strongly addicted to reading history, to painting, writing, and even carving; and throughout the same period, almost up to his twenty-fourth year, he was full of eruptions, pimples, and sores, with tooth-ache, and continual weak health; yet in literature and the knowledge of languages he always learned more than his masters were able to teach him.

In the tenth and eleventh years of his age he had somewhat better health, and therefore, before the end of his eleventh year, about the feast of Michaelmas 1525, he was sent to the university of Cambridge. Of the five following years he mentions no particulars; but in his 16th year, when journeying in Norfolk, he was seized with another violent fever, which terminated in a dropsical affection, his face swelling at morning, and his feet at night. About the middle of the following February, when he was scarcely recovered from that fever, he was elected fellow of his college, and took his bachelor's degree. He was still slender and thin, and almost continually ill from too much bile and phlegm. In his 20th year he became master of arts at Midsummer; and before Michaelmas, having been appointed a public reader or professor, he taught natural philosophy

[a] Some of Strype's MS. notes to his Life of Smith, printed in the last Oxford Edition, seem to have been derived from this source, but without making reference to it. Mr. Cooper in his Athenæ Cantabr. has mentioned the existence of Smith's manuscript volume, but without having examined it.

in the public schools, and Greek literature at his rooms. About the 23rd or 24th year of his age his health was somewhat firmer, and he became more cheerful, but not much so. His election to be orator of the university, which occurred in the latter end of this year, he does not mention in his calendar; but he states that in his 25th year he began to be known to King Henry the Eighth; and then, shortly after queen Jane's death, he and Cheke declaimed before his majesty on the question whether the King should next marry a foreigner or a countrywoman. In his 27th year, in the month of May, for the sake both of study and pleasure, and to gratify his desire to visit new countries, Smith went into France and Italy. His health was now strong, and life began to be more sweet to him. In his 29th year he was recalled home, and passed the Alps on the day before Christmas. When returned to England, he became professor of Law at Cambridge, endowed with what he terms a large public salary from his sovereign. This large salary was forty pounds, which remains at the present day the stipend of the Law professor, but who probably no longer considers it large. This preferment occurred to Smith at the end of January 1544, when he had lately entered upon his 30th year. During the following summer, he says, "I undertook an honorary disputation[a] with my competitors, being augmented at once in health, in estimation, and in cheerfulness." In his 31st year he was made vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and before the end of the year chancellor to the bishop of Ely. In the beginning of his 33rd year, being still unmarried, he was ordained priest by the same prelate (Thomas Goodrich), a fact unknown to Strype, who presumes that Smith must have been "at least in deacon's orders" when made dean of Carlisle; at the same period he received a prebend from the dean of Lincoln; and now, he adds, "I fancied myself supremely happy, to have the command as it were of the university and that province" of Ely.

At the end of February 1547, about a month after King Henry's death, Smith was summoned to court. On the 15th of March his son was born, an event he more readily records, though the son was illegitimate, because he had no children by his two subsequent marriages. In the same month of March his mother died. Having doffed his clerical dress, and changed his manner and form of life, he was now made a clerk of the privy council, and master of requests[b] to the duke of

[a] This was, perhaps, the disputation described in one of Haddon's Latin letters to Coxe, quoted by Strype, and assigned by him "as near as I can guess" to the year 1546.

[b] "In this office (writes Strype,) was Dr. Smith placed, and seems to have been the second Master of Requests to the Protector, as Cecil was the first." But, in fact, Cecill did not obtain this office until Smith's resignation,—in Sept. 1548? The biographer of Cecill has followed the old error in stating that "Mr. Cecil

Somerset, then lord protector. Accompanying his master on his expedition towards Scotland, Smith was seized by the way with another severe fever, under which he lay at York in the utmost peril of death.

At the end of his 34th year, being still unmarried, the provostship of the college of Eton and the deanery of Carlisle were given him about Christmas. On the 14th of April following (1548) he was sworn one of the King's secretaries,[a] and on the very next day he married. Shortly after, in June of the same year, he was sent ambassador into Flanders; from whence he returned in August.

The date of Sir Thomas Smith's knighthood has not been discovered; but is presumed to have been between the 17th Jan. 1548-9, and the 10th April following.[b]

In his 36th year, on the 10th of October 1549, at three o'clock in the afternoon (as he records with astrological precision), "I was dismissed from the office of secretary, at Windsor Castle.[c] On the 14th of the same month, I was led to prison in the Tower of London, with the greatest pomp, together with the duke of Somerset, Stanhope, Grey, and others." This, it will be remembered, was when the duke was deposed from the protectorate. Smith continued in the Tower until the 10th of March, when he was released shortly after the duke.[d] On the

did not hold the office long, being succeeded by the celebrated Sir Thomas Smith." Memoirs of Lord Burghley, by the Rev. Edward Nares, D.D., 4to, 1828, i. 180.

[a] In connection with the preceding note, it may be desirable to notice here the inaccuracy of Strype's passage in which he states that "in the year 1548 Dr. Smith was advanced to be Secretary of State; as in September *the same year*, William Cecil, Esq., was preferred to the like office, both having been servants to the Protector." This statement is at first view supported by a passage of Cecill's own autobiographical memoranda, "Sept. 1548, cooptatus sum in officium Secretarii:" but the truth is that Cecill, at that date, became secretary to the Protector, not secretary to the King. This point is discussed at length, but not decided, in Nares's Life of Burghley, vol. i. pp. 304 *et seq.* It was in September 1550 that Cecill first became Secretary of State, succeeding Dr. Edward Wotton, who had succeeded Smith (14 Oct. 1549). Another error made by Strype was that Smith continued Secretary until King Edward's death, and was then succeeded by Dr. John Boxall: this remains uncorrected in the Oxford edition of the Life of Smith, 1820, p. 46, except by Strype's own note to the previous chapter, p. 42.

[b] Lemon's Calendar of State Papers, 1547—1580, p. 14.

[c] The "pathetic" letter which Smith wrote two days before to his fellow-secretary sir William Petre, has been published from the State Paper office by Mr. Tytler, in his "England under Edward VI. and Mary," vol. i. p. 228. At this crisis he distinguished himself as the only councillor who faithfully stood by the Protector to the last: "For my part (he writes), I am in a moste miserable case. I cannot leave the King's Majesty, and him who was my master, and of whom I have had all."

[d] The friends of Somerset were released under heavy fines, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Mr. Fisher being mulcted in three thousand pounds, and Sir John Thynne in six thousand. (Tytler, i. 278.) As Smith received employment so soon after, it is probable that he paid but little, if any, of this fine.

25th of May following he was sent ambassador into France with the bishop of Ely and the marquess of Northampton to negociate the King's marriage. He returned in August, shortly after the cessation in England of the epidemic called the Sweating Sickness.[a]

[a] This was the last occurrence of the peculiar epidemic called the Sweating Sickness, or *Sudor Anglicus*, which had before prevailed in England in the years 1486, 1507, 1517, and 1528. It was at its height in London in the middle of July 1551, when it drove the royal household to Hampton Court, as is particularly noticed by King Edward in his Journal: and it lasted during the remainder of the month, destroying more than 900 persons in the metropolis. The young duke of Suffolk and his only brother died of it at the bishop of Lincoln's palace at Buckden, on the 14th of July. At Loughborough, in Leicestershire, it prevailed at the end of June and beginning of July, and I take this opportunity to make public the following accurate copy of the curious record of its ravages in that then small town, which I recently copied from the parish register:

JUNE 1551.

☞ The Swatt called new acquyrtance alle
Stoupe knave and know thy Master began
the xxiiijth of this monethe 1551: Robert Kirkam[1],
27. 28. Richard Harryman[2], Eliz. Andrew[3], John Crockton[4],
29. John Dedicke[5], Katteryn Jenkinson, George Nashe,
30. Johan' Moone, Ellyn Fowler, John Reedes, Anderew
Willocke, Alice Fisher: all bur. wthin ffoure dayes.

(*Next page*)

IN JULIJ 1551.

1. The Sweatte, or new acq^{l}mtance
2. Will'm Smithe, John Dale, Ellyn ney dahm', Wyll'm Sutton
3. Marye Brownfeild, Ellyn Aslyne & Edmud Aslyne

all theis buried wthin three dayes.

(But that was the end of the mortality in this town, as there are no other burials during the month, except of two newly-born infants.)

The familiar names of *New acquaintance*, and *Stoop, knave, and know thy master*, were not the only ones that were given to the disease. In the register of Uffculm, co. Devon, it is termed, "the hote sickness or Stupgallant;" and Thomas Hancocke, whose autobiographical anecdotes are among the "Narratives of the Reformation," printed for the Camden Society, calls it the "Posting-sweat, that posted from town to town thorow England, and was named *Stop-Gallant*, for it spared none." One of the most interesting books published by the Sydenham Society, entitled "The Epidemics of the Middle Ages, from the German of J. F. C. Hecker, M.D., translated by B. G. Babington, M.D., F.R.S.," 1846, contains an essay on the sweating sickness, together with a reprint of the contemporary treatise upon the subject by Dr. John Caius, first published in 1556; but there are in Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury some curious notices which escaped Dr. Hecker and his English editor. See also the Notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 319, and the Literary Remains of King Edward VI., p. 330.

About Lent in 1552 he was summoned before the Council, being in perpetual contention with the fellows of Eton: but about Michaelmas the duke of Northumberland and other lords dined with him at Eton college, and acquitted him of all blame, to the reproach and disgrace of his adversaries. This visitation of Eton is noticed by King Edward in his Journal, in the following passage: "Sept. 26. The duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, the lord chamberlain, mr. secretary Petre, and mr. secretary Cecill, ended a matter of Eton college between the master and the fellows, and also took order for the amendment of certain superstitious statutes."

Smith had in the previous year begun to build a mansion at Ankerwyke, near Eton, on the site of a nunnery dissolved at the Reformation. He mentions in his memoranda that the works of this house were in progress during the years 1551 and 1552, and were finished in 1553.

The death of King Edward in July, 1553, now wrought a change in Sir Thomas Smith's fortunes: and this change was ushered in by the loss of his wife, who died on the 3d of August, the very day on which Queen Mary first entered London. In the following year he resigned the provostship of Eton and the deanery of Carlisle, receiving in lieu from the queen a yearly pension of £100. He states that this resignation was made *quasi sponte*,[a] and it seems not improbable that it was done in prospect of another wife, as he would not have been allowed to retain those preferments as a married man.[b] The process of this second marriage is minutely recorded. It was on the 21st of July, between two and three in the afternoon, that the betrothal took place, and rings were given, with evidence of full consent; the marriage was solemnized on the 23d of the same month, between nine and ten in the morning. The lady was Philippa, widow of Sir John Hampden, of Theydon Mount, in Essex, whose death had occurred just seven months before (on the 21st of December, 1553),[c] and daughter of John Wilford, of London,[d] gentleman.

[a] He wrote first *sponte*, and then added *quasi* above the line.

[b] The deanery of Carlisle was restored, on the accession of Mary, to Lancelot Salkeld, who had been the first dean of the church, and its former prior before the Reformation. On the accession of Elizabeth it reverted to Sir Thomas Smith, and he retained it until his death in 1577. He was followed in the preferment by two laymen, Sir John Wolley (sometime Latin secretary) and Sir Christopher Perkins; so that this dignity was secularised during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, and not actually restored to the clergy until late in that of James the First. In the note at p. 44 (Oxford edit. 1820) of the Life of Smith, Strypé states that in 1551 Sir Thomas "repaired to his deanery of Carlisle;" but the order of the council there quoted does not support the statement that Smith ever personally visited the church of which he was nominally the dean.

[c] Morant's History of Essex, i. 156.

[d] Not "of *Lorie*, gentleman," as misprinted in Strype's Life (edit 1820), p. 31 note. Smith introduces

This marriage led to Sir Thomas Smith's quitting his new house at Ankerwyke as his customary residence, and to his erecting another in his native county. The lady whom he had married was jointured on the manor and estate of Theydon Mount, and, her former husband having left no heirs, Sir Thomas Smith purchased the mansion.[a]

In the year 1557, which was the same in which his father's death occurred, Sir Thomas began to rebuild the manor-house of Theydon Mount, otherwise called Hill Hall, which is still the residence of his family, descendants of his brother George, the London merchant elsewhere mentioned.

With the exception of this undertaking, and the ordinary occupations of a country gentleman, Sir Thomas Smith had now insufficient employment for his busy mind; and the scholar who had been a regius professor at twenty-nine, the vice-chancellor of his university at thirty-one, and a secretary of state at thirty-five, was now at forty-one only eager to devote himself to the recondite mysteries of astrology. This was a renewal, as I have already mentioned, of speculations that had occupied his attention in early life, and which, as is stated by one of his pupils, he then had the good sense to reject and despise. The passage containing that statement, which was quoted without any reference in Strype's Life of Smith, (Oxford edit. 1820, p. 163,) I have found in the preface placed by Richard Eden before his translation (1561) of the Art of Navigation by Martin Cortez. Eden there deprecates any "folyshe confidence in superstitious Astrologie, which for the vanitie and uncertaintie thereof, the ryght worshipfull and of singular learnynge in all sciences, Syr Thomas Smyth, in my tyme the flower of the Universitie of Cambridge, and some tyme my tutor, was accustomed to call *Ingeniosissimam artem mentiendi*, (that is) the moste ingenious arte of lyinge."

It is remarkable that, only a few years before this testimony to Smith's singular

the name of his wife in the following curious passage of his treatise on The Common-Welth of England:—"Our daughters so soone as they be maried loose the surname of their father, and of the family and stocke whereof they do come, and take the surname of their husbandes, as transplanted from their familie into another. So that if my wife was called before Philippe Wilford by her owne name and her father's surname, so soone as she is maried to me she is no more called Philippe Wilford, but Philip Smith, and so must she write and signe, and as she chaungeth husbandes, so she chaungeth surnames, called alwaies by the surname of her last husbande. Yet if a woman once marie a Lorde or a Knight, by which occasion she is called my Ladie, with the surname of her husbande, if hee dye, and shee take a husbande of a meaner estate by whom she shall not be called Ladie, (such is the honour we do give to women) she shall still be called Ladie with the surname of her first husband, and not of the second. (*In a side-note,*) Yet she is no Ladie by the common law, although so called of courtesie."—The Common-Welth of England, and maner of Government thereof, 4to, 1569, p. 131.

[a] Morant's Essex, i. 157.

good judgment was published, he should privately have falsified the opinion of his pupil, and returned to the pursuit of this barren and visionary science. The circumstance, however, affords an example confirming the truth of a statement which is made by Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, that astrology was at that time "so snatched at, so beloved, and even devoured by most persons of honour and worship," that, whatever might be its merits, upon which he was personally undetermined, he felt it perfectly superfluous to say anything in its recommendation.[a] Even Cecill himself appears to have yielded to this delusion; for a paper in his handwriting was seen by Strype,[b] containing astrological calculations upon the results to be anticipated from the Queen's marriage, made, as Strype conjectured, either by Sir Thomas Smith, or by Bomelius (a Dutch physician then resident in England), at the time when Elizabeth's projected alliance with the Duke of Anjou was in agitation, in the year 1570.

With Sir Thomas Smith, the result of his passion for astrology was his composition of the MS. volume containing his autobiographical memoranda, to which we will now return.

Under the year 1562, Sir Thomas Smith mentions some bickerings that occurred between himself and a party designated by the letters Se., and which were unwillingly reconciled. There can be little doubt that this means the Secretary Cecill, between whom and Smith traces of "some unkindness" that occurred about this time were observed by Strype.[c] However, in the same year, Smith was sent

[a] "Nam Astrologiam sic rapi, sic adamari et devorari a plerisque Nobilibus video, ut non opus habeant stimulo, sed freno: non buccinatore ad incitandum, sed vituperatore ad retardandum hunc vehementem impetum. Cui multi adeo fisi sunt, ut Deo propemodum diffisi, exitum sortiti sint non ita fœlicem, ab astris non præsignificatum, nec ab ipsis expectatum. Artem in totum non damno: sed Nobiles ad ejus studium me nec suasorem habebunt, nec applausorem. Satis ubique præconum est." (Optimates, sive de Nobilitate. Laurentio Humfredo autore. Basileæ, 1560, p. 347.) I append the translation of the passage, published in 1563: "But Astrology I see so ravened, embraced and devoured of many, as they neede no spurre to it, but rather a brydle from it, no trompetter to encourage them, but a chider to restrayne theyr vehement race. Whereto some have so much credyted, as almost dyscrediting God, they lyghted not on altogether luckye ende, nor foretolde of the starres nor foreseene of them. I condemne not universally the arte: but thereto get they me not counceller, nor favourer. It hath plenty enough of praysers." (The Nobles, or of Nobilitye. By Lawrence Humfrey, D. of Divinity, and President of Magdaleine Colledge in Oxforde. London, 1563.)

[b] This curious document is printed in the Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. Appendix, No. IV. from the original said to be in the Burghley MSS. "written by Secretary Cecil *propria manu*." As I have not been able to find the original in the Lansdowne MSS. or elsewhere in the British Museum, it may perhaps exist at Hatfield. Dr. Nares has noticed some of its absurd prognostications, in his Memoirs of Lord Burghley, vol. ii. p. 534.

[c] Life of Smith (Oxford edit. 1820), p. 82.

ambassador to France; departing from London on the 20th of September, and landing at Calais on the 24th, on which night he slept at Boulogne sur Mer. He records the murder of the duke of Guise on the 24th of February following; and under the date of the 28th of August, he states, "I was detained as a prisoner: the next day sent to the castle of Melun, and released on the 17th of the next month." Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador resident in France, was made a prisoner at the same time, a circumstance noticed by Strype in his Life of Smith, but Strype was not aware that a similar treatment affected the subject of his biography.

On the 12th of April 1564 a treaty of peace was concluded at Troyes; and on the 24th of May Sir Thomas Smith began a journey in order to visit Geneva. Being at Toulouse in January of the following year, he fell sick from the cold, and remained so until the 28th of February. On the 1st of March he considered himself well.

He continued ambassador in France until May 1566, when on the 16th of that month he received his reward from the French king, and on the next commenced his journey homewards. On the 28th he landed at Rye; on the 1st of June had his audience of the Queen, and closed his embassy.

About March in the following year (1567) he was again sent into France: but he does not mention the date of his return.

In 1568 he began to build in a stronger and handsomer fashion the north and west sides of the mansion of Hill Hall, which he completed in the next year.

At the end of 1571 he was again sent ambassador into France, returning in the following July; on the 5th of which month he presented himself to the Queen, and on the 13th was again made secretary of state. He had previously, whilst in France, received the appointment of chancellor of the order of the Garter, vacant by the resignation of Lord Burghley.

His notes at this place contain a description of the comet which appeared in that year, and was first seen in England at the back of the chair of Cassiopeia. Strype has printed a letter which Smith wrote upon this subject to Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France.

The next year, being the 59th of his life, is the last to which these autobiographical notes extend. It contains the death of his son, who was slain on the 18th of October, in Ireland, where Sir Thomas Smith had founded an English colony at the Ardes, on the eastern coast of Ulster. On the 4th of December, writes Sir Thomas, "I experienced a return of the same illness which I had suffered at

Toulouse and at Blois, with loss of appetite. On the 23rd I began to get better. On the 3rd of January I returned to court."

This is the last entry. Sir Thomas Smith lived more than four years longer, but did not again open his manuscript book. Its subsequent pages are for the most part occupied with those astrological calculations which were generally termed nativities, but which were made upon any accident or other remarkable event of a man's life, as well as upon his birth; and the only rational information to be gleaned from them consists in the dates of the births of various members of his family, and of a few of his friends.[a]

There is, however, also in the British Museum another autobiographical paper of Sir Thomas Smith to which it will not be superfluous for me to draw attention upon the present occasion; for, although it was employed by Strype, and is in fact the authority for some of his most important statements upon the life and character of Sir Thomas Smith, yet his allusions to it are obscure, whilst the materials derived from it are scattered in various parts of his book,[b] often without citing its authority. This document is now preserved in the Harleian MS. 6989. It is a paper of several sheets, addressed by Smith to the duchess of Somerset; and consists of an elaborate defence against various aspersions with which his character had been assailed. No date is affixed, but internal evidence shows that it was written in the autumn of 1549, not long before his dismissal from the office of Secretary of State.[c]

In this paper Sir Thomas Smith defends himself, first from the charge of haughtiness, next from that of being a sore and extreme man, and thirdly from covetousness. It had been said that he was a great purchaser. So far, he declares, was this from the truth, that all the land he possessed in the world, besides one little house in Canon-row and another in Philpot-lane, consisted of the manor of Yarlington, in Somersetshire, worth 30*l.* a year, and the college of Derby, worth 33*l.* The former, he says, was purchased entirely with money he possessed before he entered into the duke of Somerset's service, and which he had saved from his income at Cambridge. The details of this are remarkable: "for (he says) I thank God I was well contented with my living there, and had enough yearly and to spare: for

[a] These are given in the Appendix to this paper.

[b] In his chapters i., iii., iv., xvii. and xviii., at pp 5, 26, 28, 31, 32, 170, and 176 of the Oxford edition of 1820.

[c] This is ascertained from his statements respecting the revenue of Eton College. He was made Provost at Christmas 1547, and two Midsummers had since occurred. In October 1549 he ceased to be Secretary of State.

my living was yearly 120*l.*, after this sort: my lecture of Civil Law was to me yearly 40*l.*, the office of chancellorship to my lord of Ely 50*l.*, and my benefice of Leverington 36*l.*; and yet I so ordered the matter, that mine own board, my three servants, three summer nags,[c] and three winter geldings, all this did not stand me in much above 30*l.* yearly; so that, except I would spend of unthriftyness, I might save well enough, as I did, and I trust honestly."

Smith afterwards states the account of his income at the time he was writing. His fee as secretary was yearly 100*l.* The advantage of the seal, he had been told, was wont to be good; this three months (he declares) it hath not been to me 7*l.* The deanery of Carlisle produced 80*l.*, besides 40*l.* pension paid to its late holder, who remained a Romanist. The income of the provostship of Eton he had not ascertained, from the unsettled state of its affairs.

Other aspersions circulated against him were that he bought benefices, and that he had been a chopper and changer of land. These he wholly denied.

Smith appears even at this early period to have been somewhat jealous of Cecill, who was as yet only Master of Requests: "And Mr. Cecill (he exclaims) is a great mote to be cast against me, that he, poor man, is none such. Truely, for Mr. Cecill, I take him to be an honest and a worthy man, nor see I cause why he should be brought and used to my displeasure, whom I have ever loved." But yet the tale-bearers had been known to remark, That poor man is no purchaser! "Let him (replies Smith) change his book of purchase he had this year with mine, and I will give him one thousand pounds to boot, and yet win almost five hundred pounds by the bargain." Some other very remarkable statements follow, respecting favourable purchases of crown lands, but whether the whole apply to Cecill or not, is ambiguous.

Two further points of covetousness had been alleged against Sir Thomas Smith. One was that his wife did not go so gorgeously as some would have her,—"if that be a fault (he replies,) although she is little, let her bear it; she hath all my money." The other charge respected his housekeeping. "At Eton, (he declares,) where I have one, whosoever cometh, whether I be there or not, shall know whether I keep house or not. At London, where I can get no house, it is hard for me to keep an house." He had taken as much pains as any man to procure a suitable residence, and was not so mad, or so little a lover of his ease, but that it would have been sometimes a pleasure to him, when he might steal a leisure, to eat a morsel of meat, dressed after his fancy, in his own house; or not to prefer to

[c] Strype, in making use of this passage, in his third chapter, has unaccountably altered this word, stating that "he kept three servants, *three guns*, and three winter geldings."—Oxford edit. 1820, p. 28.

be sometimes at his ease, rather than to be always pent up in one chamber at Court. It further appears that Carlisle house, in Lambeth, was in his possession, but that, being on the south side of the river, it was of no use to him.

But the most grievous charge of all that had been made against him, was that he was a neutral in religious matters. "A strange thing (he exclaims) if in time of persecution I was known what I was, now I should be doubted of! If when few durst profess, I not only did it myself, but defended others that professed Christ, from fire and bearing of faggots, in the bishop of Winchester's most ruffe, before all Cambridge, and in a manner against all the doctors of Cambridge, and all the justices of peace in the shire, and saved many, and so still continued, and now in my Lord's grace's time (*i.e.* the Duke of Somerset's) I should shrink!" He excuses any caution apparent in his conduct as arising from a regard to the honour and safety of the King and the lord Protector, "whom I reckon at this time as it were all one." That done, he adds, there was no man that would go further than himself.

These extracts will be sufficient to show the curious nature of this document; of which I shall append to this letter a complete copy, in order that it may be printed in the Archæologia.

I am, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

Charles Henry Cooper, Esq. F.S.A.

APPENDIX.

I.

EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF CHEKE, COMMUNICATED BY HIM TO CARDANO.

Natus Anno 1514, die 16 Junij, hora 5 minut. 17 post meridiem.
Anno 1540, die septima Septemb., laboravit acuta febre.
Anno 1552, die quinta Maij, peripneumonia.
Anno 1544, die decima Junij, in regium preceptorem electus est.
Anno 1549, die undecima Januarij, a pristino honore ferme decidit.
Anno 1547, die undecima Maij, uxorem duxit.

Hier. Cardani Lib. de Genituris, edit. 1558, p. 37.

Description of Cheke, with Prognostications, by Cardano.

Formâ corporis est gracili, flavâ, maculosâ, rariore cute, capillis mediocribus, oculis decentibus cæsiisque, staturâ procerâ, hirsutus, rubescens satis ob solem, pulcher, incommensuratus tamen, et anterioribus debilior, sicci temperamenti, sed in activis qualitatibus temperati. Calvescet citò ob id, canescetque celerius. Morietur ex morbo longo, &c. &c. (*After various fanciful prophecies, Cardano adds:*)—Erit autem talis, ut maximè loco et tempori accommodare se novit. Et ultimum splendoris ac gloriæ humanæ consequetur, opinionemque sapientiæ quasi divinæ nisi a communibus constitutionibus impediatur: quas etiam modo evaserit, maximus fiet. . . . . Erit in universum officiosus, gravis, liberalis, sapiens, humanus, Anglicæque gloria gentis. Apud quem diversatus cùm fastum omnem, cùm gloriam consultè compresserim, ut agnoscerem, non agnoscerer, quod veræ felicitatis est, contemni aut negligi minimè potui.—*Ibid.* p. 40.

II.

Letter of Cheke to the Duchess of Somerset.

(MS. Lansdowne 2, No. 34.)

Yo^{r} graces singular Fauor towardes me, hath alwaies been one of mi chefe comfortes in mi diligẽt Service of y^{e} K. M. which was y^{e} easier to me, bicause it was wel taken. And althoughe in this desert of other mens troble, and mishap of mine owne, I præciseli know not of yo^{r} graces fauorable goodnes towarde me, yet I iudge y^{t} yo^{r} g. good minde[a] towarde me, vndeserved to bee gotten, and vndeserved to be lost again, is sich, y^{t} I passe the quietlier thorough the hole course of mi danger, and fele y^{e} lesse storme of causeles hap, bicause I do miche stai miself in yo^{r} g. wisedome of taking thinges truli, and in yo^{r} goodnes of helpinge the honest fauorablie. Wherefore præsuming to give yo^{r} g. thankes for miself, bicause I trust wel, and moost humbli requiring yo^{r} g. of continuans of yo^{r} fauor worthilie as I trust to be bestowd on me, I can not chuse but make half a sute for half miself, being dissevered as yet from y^{e} other half of miself. In mi wife's misbehavor towarde yo^{r} g. whosoever is sorie for it I am moost sorie, not redie to excuse y^{t} which is fautie, but desiring of pardon, where forgivenes is plentiful, and knowing y^{t} forgivenes of fautes past is amendment of time to cõme, and no vice in anie meane woman to bee soo great, but y^{e} vertue of nobilitee is as large to mercie. Mi moost humble request therfor is, y^{t} yo^{r} g. gentilnes overcõme mi wife's fautes, to fauor of clemencie, where iustice wold have straitnes, to be more noble in vertue then other be in offence, y^{t} where as faute is greatest, yo^{r} g. mai moost appeare. In other matters I have charged her to be plaine, and I trust her honest nature wil content yo^{r} g. wheerin if she be fautie, I must nedes naturalli pitie her, iustli I can not speke for her, and yet as I trust sche wil shew herself true and plaine, so I wold faine speke If I thonght theer were nede, and put yo^{r} g. in minde, y^{t} yow of wisedome consider y^{t} in yougth theer mai be pardon, wheer experiens lacketh,

[a] Misprinted in Strype's Cheke, edit. 1820, "your good Graces mind."

and towarde sich women pitie,[a] as wisedome can not be loked for of, and towarde womẽ with childe fauor for the ïnocentes sake. But what meane I to enter into sich matters as yo^{r} g. knoweth best, and tel yo^{r} g. y^{t} of yo^{r} self ye consider. Onli I beseche yo^{r} g. and that moost humblie, to extende yo^{r} gracious fauor so far above the requirers[b] desert, towarde mi wife and me both, as mi good minde towarde yo^{r} g. which is æqual with yo^{r} gretest clientes, is above mine habilitee, which is vnderneth y^{e} cõmen state of wel minded. God send yo^{r} grace moost p^{o}sperous[c] estate and long quietnes to his mightie wil.

From Westmester y^{e} xxvij of Januarie 1549. 2 Ed. 6.

Yo^{r} g. moost bownden
Orator, Joãn Cheke.

Directed, To mi Ladie of Somersets good Grace.

III.

Autobiographical Notes of Sir Thomas Smith.

(MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 325, f. 2.)

1513 23 Decẽ. Anno 1°. 2°. et tertio gratiosus, ludibundus, loquax, in sũma gratia supra coæ-
1514 1
2 quales, ut in illa ætate sũme videbar indolis, et patris præcipue deliciæ.
1517 3°
1518 4° Anno tertio cõpleto aut circiter ex nocturno terriculamento in sõno, incidi in
1519 5 grauissimã febrẽ, quæ plusq^{ã} biẽnio aut triennio me detinuit, sub exigua spe
1520 6 vitæ, a quo nõ videbar plene liberatus usq^{ã} ad 21 aut 22 annũ. Toto hoc
1521 7°
1522 8°
1523 9° tempore tristis, pauci risus, nullius lusus, lectioni tamen historiaꝛ, picturæ, scriptioni, etiam sculptoriæ, vehementer deditus, et vniuerso illo tempore usq^{ã} ad 24 fere annũ plænus scabie, pustulis, ulceribus, dolore dentiũ, semper imbecilli valetudine, sed in literis & linguaꝛ cognitione plus semper didici quam præceptores poterant docere.

1524 10 10 et 11° interpolli valetudine, et ita aliquãtulũ meliore, sub fine 11 ãni circa festũ
1525 11° Michïs Cantabrigiam sũ missus ad bonas lr̃as.

1530 16° 16° febris me invasit, circa Michaelis, peregrinãtẽ in Norfolchia, grauis, putrida, et fere pestifera, quæ desiit in hydropẽ, intumescente mane facie, noctu pedibus.

1531 17° Vix sanus ex ea febre, circa Februarij mediũ Socius Collegij sũ electus, & bacca-
1532 18
1533 19 laureus factus,—gracilis adhuc & macilẽtissim^{9}, bili ac pituita nimia fere perpetuo morbosus.

[a] Misprinted in Strype's Cheke, edit. 1820, "and sich we pitty." [b] Ibid. "required."
[c] Ibid. "plenteous."

1534 20
1535 21
1536 22

Anno xx°. Maĝr artiū ad solstitiū, & ante Michis factus prælector publicus phīam in scholis publ. domi græcas literas profitebar.

1537[a] 23

Anno xxiij°. aut xxiiij°. valetudo firmior aliquantū, & hilarior sū factus, sed nō

1538 24

ita multū.

1539 25

Anno xxv°. cœpi notus esse Regi H° octavo, tū ego et Chækus coram eo declamabamus, nuper mortua Regina Jana, super deliberatiōe, hospitem an popularem duceret.

1540° 26

Anno xxvij. Mense Maio, studioꝝ et voluptatis causa, cupiditateq; visendi nouas regiōes, in Galliam me cōtuli & Italiam. Valetudine iā firma, vita iam primū cœpit esse mihi suavior.

Cromellus capite multat[r].

1543 29

Anno xxix°. domū reuocabar, alpes prætergressus p[i]die nat. dñi domū reuersus sū, auctus stipendio mag° publico a principe, leges p°fitebar, corpore iam etiam firmiore facto. Fuit hoc in fine Mensis Januarij q[i] fuit xxx° ānо inchoante.

1544° 30

A°. xxx°. in æstate contentiones honorificas suscepi cū æmulis, auctus opibus, existimatione, hilaritate.

1545[b] 31

A°. xxxj°. p°cancellarius academiæ Cantab. factus, et vix finito āno, Cancellarius Epi Elyens.

Bolonia dedita mense septēbri.

1546 33

A°. 33°. inchoante, q°d celebs essem, Sacerdotio sum donatus ab eodem, et præbenda a decano Lyncolñ, videbarq; mihi beatus esse, academiæ & illi p°uinciolæ quasi imperare.

1547 34

A°. xxxiij°. circa Februarij finē, vocatus sū in aulam. 15° Martij natus est mihi filius.

In initio Henricus 8[s] moritur. Edoardi 1°.

A. 1547 Martio mense mortua est mater mea.

Mutata clericali veste, modoq; ac vivendi forma, primū Secretioris concilij scriba ut vocant sum factus & a supplicū libellis D°. Somers.

23° Augusti in profectione versus Scotiam febri synveha calidissima oppressus, Eboraci in grauissimo fui periculo mortis.

1548 34

A°. xxxv°. in initio, aut potius circa finē xxxiiij[ti], quod adhuc celebs essem, Præpositura Collegij Ætoñ & decanatus Carlioleñ dabant[r] circa fm̄ Natalis.

1549 35

A°. 35 (inchoāte) April. 15° duxi uxorē (mane ho. circ. 3[am] po[t]mer. nod. (?) pridie (s. 14) sū delectus Secretarius regis, eodem die iuratus post Meridiem circa horā 4[am]. Et paulo post eodem Anno mense Junio missus in Flandriā legatus. Augusto mense Redij.

1550 36

A°. 36 10° Octob. ho. 3[a] post Merid. deiectus officio Secretarij in Arce Wyndesori. 14° die Octobris cū maxima pompa vna cū Duce Somersetto, Stanopo, Graio & aliis sū deductus in carcerē in Arcē Londiñ.

[a] Here he has subsequently inserted this astrological mem. ♄ ♂ in ♌.

[b] ♃ ♂ in ♏.

1551[a] 37 A°. 37° circa 10. Martij, paulo post ducē Somersett & alios, carcere ego et reliq[i] liberati sumus. 25° Maij cū Epō Elieñ et Marchione Northampton missus sū legatus in Galliam p° nuptiis regis Edoardi. Augusto Mense redij, paulo postꝙ cessavit Sudor in Anglia.

Et in hujus Anni initio cœpi Ankerwicū ædificare.

1552° A°. 38. 22° Jan. Dux Somersetj decapitatus. Circa pentecostē vocatus corā consiliariis & in perpetua cōtc̄tione cū socijs Ætoñ. Circa Michis festū dux North. & alij proceres mecū pransi sunt in Ætoñ Collegio cū sūmo honore et accusatoꝝ meoꝝ infamia ac dedecore me absoluerūt ōi calūnia.

Et toto hoc Anno Ankerwicū ædificabat[r].

A° 1553° 39 Ed. 7°. Mariæ 1°. Mortuus est Rex Edoardus, Julio mense 6° die.

Mortua et uxor mea chariss. 3° August. eo die quo Regina Maria Londinū ingressa est.

Atꝙ isto āno finis impositus est Ankeruici ædificationj.

A° 1554[b] 40 Circa Maiū mensem aut paulo post quasi sponte cessi præpositura Æton. & decanatu Carleol. & habui pencōem a Regina C[li] ꝑ an. 23° Julij inter 9[am] ac 10[am] mane duxi Philippam uxorē, quæ circa 2[am] aut 3[am] p[t] meridiem die 21 eiusdem mensis arrabonē ānuloꝝ accepit quasi nuptiaꝝ noïe, vt tū p[i]mū plænus adpareret consensus.

Regina nupta regi Philippo 25. Julij.

A° 1555° 41 Circa Menses Octob. No. et Decēber vehemētissimus ardor et desideriū me incessit astrologiam discendj ut vix noctu p°pter illud studiū conq[i]escerem, cuiusmodi etiam cupiditas āno ut cōiectabam 20. aut 21° meæ ætatis me inuasit.

[The preceding portions of these annals (except various insertions) appear to have been written at one time; and the entries which follow to have been added at several subsequent periods, but not always when the events occurred.]

A° 1556 42 Januario mense, nocte eadem q° ☾ ☉ cōiūcta est, tonitru maximū & fulgetræ, tota fere nocte; fulminauit autem octo continuis ante noctibus, sed apud nos non tonabat. Mense Februario, die xij[a], ho. 8[a]. ante merid. leui ictu perstrinxi genu. consutū vulnus cito coaluit, ☾ tū ♂ iūgebatur in ♓. 9° Februarij cū ☾ rursus erat in ♓ intumuit iterū genu, cū dolore.

1557° 43 Montaulā ædificauj.

Hoc āno pater mortuus est, et frater natu maior.

1558[c] 44 Ædificaui ad huc montis aulam.

Mortua regina Maria, 17. No.

Elisabeth 1°.
1559 45
1560 46
1561 47

[a] ♄ ♂ } in ♒.

[b] ☿ ☉ ♑.

[c] ♄ ♂ } in ♉.

1562 48 Jurgia inter me et Se. Reconciliatio inuita. Missus legatus in Galliam. 20. Septembris egressus Londino. 24. appulimus Caletas, noctu Bonomiæ maritimæ cubuimus.

1563 49 24 Feb. D. Guysiæ ex vul. moritr. 28 Aug. Vt captiuus detinebar. 29. missus in arcem Meleunj. 17 Septēb. liberatus.

1564. 50. 12 April, the peax concluded at Trois. 24 Maij incœpi iter ad visendam Geneuam.

1565 51. 19 Jan. Ægrotaui ex frigore Tholosæ ab hoc die usq; ad 28. Feb. 1° Martij convalij.

1566 52 23 Jan. the fray wher Pakman was killed at Burbois. 16° Maij donatus a rege Gallorū. 17 Maij Reditus versus Angliā. 28 Appuli Riam. 1° Junij colloquutus sū cū regina; finita est legatio.

1567 53 Circa Martiū rursus in Galliā missus. 31° Martij Caletas appuli, postridie Caletas cū Wintero repetij, inde ad Gallorū regem.

Nouēbri et Decēbri toto ægºtauj e catarro frigido.

1568 54 Cœpi ædificare fortius et splendidius boreale et occidentales Montisaulæ, pimo Januarij pºpe enectus tussi et catarro.

1569 55 Hoc āno perfeci.

1570 56 Pimo Januarij e catarro egrotus, sed mox convaluj.

1571 57 Missus iterū legatus in Galliā 10 Decēb. valedixi vxori. 15° Caletas appuli.

1572 58 Blesis. Ægrotaui nausea et vomitu pituitæ crassæ pim. 19. Martij. Vix plæne liberatus 3° Maij. reuersus a legatione ad aulā reginæ 5° Julij. 13° eius[dem] factus sū secretarius. Cancellarius Garterij factus ante in Gallia.

Hoc anno Nouēbri mense visa est noua stella * in cathedra Cassiopeiæ. magnitudine ♃. quæ durauit pºpe ānū, sed īminuendo se tandem disparuit.

1573 59 18. Octob. filius meus in Hibernia occisus est. 18 Octob.

4 Decēb. Cœpi ægºtare vt Tholosæ et Blesis deiectione appetitus.

23 cœpi conualescere. 3° Janu. reuersus ad aulā.

Other Notes from Sir Thomas Smith's Astrological Manuscript.

F. 7. 1560 Tailerus natus 6° die Septembris ho. 9ª mi. 30 ante Merid.

F. 13 *b.* Elizabetha Carkek 1529. Die 29 Nouēb. ho. 6ª. min. 40° ante Merid. (His first wife.) Philippa Wilfredi 1522. 24 Apr. ho. 7ª ante Merid. (His second wife.)

F. 21. 1513 xxiij° Decemb. ho. 7ª mi. 5° post Meridiem. Thomas Smithus filius Joánis. (His own birth.)

F. 22 *b.* 1547 Die 16 Martij ho. fere 5ª mane. Thema extractū e natiuitate filij. (His natural son.)

F. 30. 1547 Martij 2° ho. 12 mi. 20. Dies Mercur. Emma Georgij Smithi Primogenit. (This entry and the following relate to the birth of the children of his brother.)

F. 31 *b.* 11° Sept. 1548. hora fere 6ª mane Die Martis. Elizabetha 2° genita.
F. 34. xxxj° Aug. 1549 Media Nocte. Sabbati. Thomas tertio genit.
F. 34 *b.* 1550. 27 Septemb. hora secunda mane, Susanna 4ª.
At fol. 58 occurs the horoscope of Sir John Cheke, which Strype has inserted in his Life of Cheke.
F. 58 *b.* 1514 Decemb. 23 ho. 8ª ante Merid. fere Die Sabbati. Thomas Smithus, Waldini.
(His own birth, a year later than before stated.)
F. 78. 1483 22 Octob. ho. 10 post Merid. Martini Lutherj. E. C. genit. Cardanj Alt. pa. 44.
Ibid. Antonius Grene, 30 Nouēb. 1555° ho. 8ª 25° mi. ante Merid.
Mortuus est 16° Jan. 1556° ho. 6ª noctu, q° tēpore tonabat valde, Egghamj.

IV.

Sir Thomas Smith's Defence of his Conduct and Character, addressed to the Duchess of Somerset.

(MS. Harl. 6989, fol. 141.)

If it please your grace, The furst and chief poinct in my mynde to be wisshed of a servaunt is faithfully and truly to serve his master to his master's most honour and profit. The next is that his master have a good opinion of him. The furst I take chief, for truthe is better then apperaunce, and, how long soever it be kept backe with enviouse or whispering tales, at the last it will appear. The other is next: for the cheafest comfort to bothe the master and servaunt is, the maister to have a trust and confidence of his servauntes well doinge, and the servaunt to thinke his service well accepted; and this even the trustie and faithfull servaunt most desireth, the untrew and ey servaunt to have it most laborith.

Your grace, peradventure, marvelith what I shulde meane thus to write. Yf I thought I might have had tyme to have declared the same by wordes, without any troble or grief to your grace, I wolde more gladly, obteigning licence first, so have done it. Now I being at commaundement, and not able to attende my tyme, lest I shulde seame, by not answering to such thinges as I hear say be objected unto me, to confesse them and graunt miself giltie; orels it might be taken, if the thing appeare otherwise, as I doo not doubt it doth and will doo, that I shulde neglect and not esteme your grace's opinion of me, I am forced to write this my declaracion, simple in wordes, and true in effect, the which I will averre and justefie furst to God, and next to your grace and all the worlde, before those whisperers and tale-tellers, if it please your grace to call me to their rebuke, or let me die therefore.

And, furst, I am gladde that I cannot lerne that either untruth, slaknes, or doblenes in my service was ever laide to my chardge, the which not being hable to be done somych as of myne enviers and enemies, as I trust never shalle, for the rest, I hope, I shall wade away.

I doo remembre about th'ende of the last parliament your grace shewed me certain of my faultes, the which, ye saide, men noted in me. It was no litle discouragement unto me, after wache and

care wherewith I was then a little vexed, to have suche a reresouper, and a clapping of the backe after my travaile, most of alle for that your grace seamid to me to speake as half persuaded that their saienges was true, I coulde not then hide my griefe and sorowe; and I tooke that I had then aunswerid those thinges fully, and had lefte your grace my good ladie, of whose goodnes I coulde never despaire. Sith Mr. Thynne hath shewed me agayne mych like thinges, I aunswered him hoole, and in the most part I toke him for witnes, as hearin I must, and required him to reaport the same to your grace (tyme by like not servyng) or how soever it was, I perceave by thinges of late, that it was not done.

And wordes I see goeth away; my writinges may be tried whither they be false or no. And I think your grace wolde that I shulde knowe your grace's opinion of me, or at the least what others say unto your grace of me, for I do not take it, nor cannot, that alle that is objected is firmelie beleved of your grace, and I am sure lesse will, when I have made myne aunswere; but this your grace wolde have notified, that if I were gilty, I shulde amend, if I were ungilty, I shulde answere, the which, with pardon obteigned, I most gladly desire.

Haultenes was objected, and, as it was termed, high in th'instep. Of that fault, which is great, for I take it pride, if it be ment inwardely, and in my stomake and mynde, God can onely be judge; and it is ment[a] that I shulde be prowde, disdaynefull, mych regarding myself, despising other, as I saie of the hart God judgeth only truly. And I miself, tought I trust by God, knowing myne owne vilenes and weakenes, neither knowe cause whie I shulde be so, nor knowe the fault to raigne in me; whearin I may be deceyved, but my conscience doth not accuse me, and, as I saide before, God only can judge me. For outwarde apparaunce of pride, I am sure there is occasions whye I shulde be thought to base myself to mych, and so I have ben notid (so that it is harde to please every man) rather then to take uppon me to mychc; and let men looke uppon my order, gesture, sitting, capping, and such like thinges, either at the Counsaile or otherwise, and I am sure they may have more just occasion so to think and judge. For the rest I cannot denye but I am of nature hault of courage and stomake, to contempne all perill and worldly thinges or daungers, to doo my master service, and more wolde be, but I am by suche thinges somtymes plucked backe, and so am contented to rule meself, being hable, I thanke God, to serve in the bodie and thilles (as carters calle it) asweale as in the rome of a fore-horse.

The seconde was, that I was a sore and extreme man, as I understode it, as it were an oppressour. To this I require nothing, but sith I came furst to the Court, and xx yeares before, let eny man come and prove, that I have, I will not say taken, but axid th'extremite and rigour of eny man where equitie wolde moderate, I shall give him the hoole I axid, and pay him yet doble the wourth. Yf I had any man to the lawe, I will give him his coastes and the thing I sued for, let them come before your grace and axe it. I never entrid accion against any man in my lief, nor never pledid. Ones in deade I had bought an house of Thexecutours,[b] which, as me thought after, shulde have ben the Kinges; I moved my Lordes grace of it,[c] and if it were the Kinges I required only of his grace the preferrement. An other had boughte the same house by an other title.

[a] *i.e.* if it be meant.

[b] *i.e.* the executors of King Henry the Eighth.

[c] The duke of Somerset.

Betwixt us two, that were else parties, there was no controversie, for we both, or the first, offered agreament and refused the lawe; mary, neither of us both durst agree with the other till the Kinges title was acquietid. This was, I cannot tell how, against both our myndes dalied by th'officers. Betwixt us the matier was so easy to agree, that I put it to his wife's brother, onely to apoinct th'ende, and therto I stande: and his own lawiers to drawe the writinges. Yf this be extremite, I knowe not what is gentlenes. The house my yonger brother lieth in, and it is rather his house than myne, altho it be faire, yet so farre of that I can have no comodite of it.[a] Neither of myne nor any of the colledgis Carlile or Eaton I never raised rent, nor heighted fyne, either of copie or free, nor yet to this daie put out tenaunt, nor to my knowleage yet have had none in sute. I mervaile where th'extremitie and soreness shulde be. I beseche your grace let the reaporters tell, for I cannot gesse.

A thirde point was covetousness. In this behaulf it is in two parties, th'one of mynde, wherein God onlie can be judge, that point I must dispute with him, whom onely I like, and knowe to judge not by enviouse men and women's tales, but by truth; and therefore I remit me unto him aither to stonde or falle thearin at his mercie.

Th'other for outwarde apparaunce; whearin I am so stoute of courage, that I think I am hable to aunswere all the worlde, howsoever I can be charged; and because the charge I am sure can be but fonde of those that hath shewid your grace, and moved you hearin, I can but gess at their gessings, and fondely aunswere there fonde mocione.

I am a great purchaser, they say, as I heire saie. I beseech your grace let them tell wherof. Lande cannot runne away, and it may soone be lerned where it is. All the lande I have in the worlde, besides one litle house in Chanon rowe of xxx^{s}. by yere, which Mr. Comptroller[b] hath, and that other my brother hath in Philpot lane, yet not fully all paid for, is in two places.

Yarlington, in Somersetshire, which is a manour to me wourth xxx^{li}. a yere, is one, and the Colleage of Darbye, of xxxiij^{li}. a yere, th'other.

The furst I boughte at my furst commyng to my Lordes grace service.

The money I bought that for, I must nedes have it of bribory, as they saie; and here is a great evidence that when I had Mr. Cicilles rome,[c] I was a great bribour. Yf the money came of bribory, it was goten at Cambridge, not here, and that none can better beare witnesse then Mr. Thynne,[d] for as sone in maner as I had any acquaintance with Mr. Thynne (which was within litle more then fortnighte after I came fully to my Lordes grace service) before I had any thing to doo or office with my Lordes grace, I shewid him I had money of myne in coyne to the summe of CCC^{li}. or thereaboutes in my yonger brother's handes here in London, a merchaunt, the which money I had at tymes alwaies, as I savid any money of my living at Cambridge, sende to him, to occupie and amend his stocke, without peny or half-peny profit to me, but onely to helpe him; for, I thanke God, I was well contentid with my living there, and had ynoughe yerely and

[a] This house was in Philpot Lane, in the city of London, and is again mentioned presently.

[b] Sir William Paget; Strype states incorrectly that it was let to him for thirty pounds a year, instead of thirty shillings. See another passage, hereafter.

[c] That of Master of Requests, in which Cecill had succeeded him.

[d] Sir John Thynne, steward of the Duke of Somerset's household.

to spare; for my living was yerely Cxx^{li}, after this sort—my lecture of Civille [Law] was to me yerely xl^{li}, th'office of Chauncelership to my Lorde of Elye l^{li}, and my benefice of Leverington xxxvj^{li}; and yet I so orderid the matier, that myne owne borde, my iij servauntes, iij somer nagges, and iij winter geldinges, all this did not stonde me myche above xxx^{li}. yerely; so that, except I wolde spende of unthriftynes, I might save well ynough, as I did, and I trust honestly, my conscience doth not accuse me. Well, howsoever it was, I tolde Mr. Thynne of this money, and required him to helpe me where I mighte best employ it. He wisshed me to this Yarlington, the whiche I bought in reversion after the late Quenes[a] death, and was put in my Lord Marques Northampton's booke, and so it stode me in CCC^{li}. If the quene had lived, it had bene wourth nothing unto me; her death made it wourth me xxx^{li} a yere. The money I paide to my Lord Marques; his booke was that was given him at the coronacion.[b] This as for Yarlington, and of all this, as I saide, no man can be better judge and witness then Mr. Thynne: the purchase after x yeres, the money myne owne before I came from Cambridge, and before I had Mr. Cicilles office, or any other in the courte.

Th'other the Colleage of Darbie is xxxiij^{li} a yere. This I bought this yere of the Commissioners of Chaunteries according as the price goith. That money then I must have of briborye. Yt is not unknowen, I suppose, neither unto your grace nor to many other, that I had with my wief[c] one thousand markes; that thought I mete, and in maner my dutie, and half promise, to employ in lande, and so I did, and boughte that lande with it.

And here is all the purchases that ever I made; here is all the lande I have in the worlde; one peny rent more I have not; I wolde every man in England coulde give so good accomptes where he had the money wherwith he bought his lande; the worlde hathe then less cawse to crie then it semeth to have.

Office and preferment I have bought none. My Lordes grace can tell of whom I have had all that I have. Ferme I occupie none, neither bieng nor selling, nor usury for love of money, nor never did, and God willing never entende to doo.

My livinges be not unknowen. The Secretaryes fee is yerely C^{li}. Th'advauntage of the seale, they say, was wont to be good; this three monethes, it hath not bene to me vij^{li}. The deanry of Carlile, paieing xl^{li} pencion to him[d] that resigned it to me, is iiij^{xx} ^{li}. What Eaton Colleage is I cannot tell: from Christmas that I furst had it, till Midsomer that I went into Flaundres, I had of it lx^{li}; from that tyme till Midsomer last I had never a peny, and yet I was fayne, before Bartholomewe tyme, to borowe c^{li} for them till the rentes come in, to bie liveries of the house. This is the great livinges I have, the which, saving the secretaries office, be but spirituall livinges as they call them, putting the Kinges Ma^{tie} to no charge, nor my L. grace to no blame; and without somwhat I can not be hable to serve in this rome. The whiche if they be thoughte to myche to be bestowid uppon me, I wolde some priest had them.

[a] Queen Katharine (Parr.), the marquess of Northampton's sister.

[b] Of course at the coronation of Edward the Sixth, not, as Strype imagined, "at the coronation of Queen Katharine." The "book" was a list or schedule of lands, made preparatory to a grant by letters patent.

[c] His first wife, Elizabeth Carkek.

[d] Lancelot Salkeld.

I am sure others have had asmoche lande as this commith to, with less grudge, and yet I will compare with hertie service, with the best of my degree, none exceptid; for myne habilite, power, and wit I must acknowledge my unworthynes, but as it pleaseth my Lordes grace of his goodnes t'accept it.

It is tolde, I heire say of late, I shulde bye benefices; let those develish feyners of such tales and false rumours justefie it if they can, and take for their labour all that I have, that I ever boughte or solde benefice. I have given this yere three; if ever I tooke peny for eny one of them, he that can prove it I give him all my lande for it. How and where I shulde bye any benefice, or to what purpose, I cannot devise.

Yea and I am a great chopper and chaunger of land. As I saide before unto your grace, lande cannot runne away, and the thing, if it were true, may soone be proved; fote of lande I never yet exchaunged with any person, and solde none, but one house, parcell of my purchase at Derbye. The lande I bought I bought of the King, and paide th'extremitie, as other did, as my particulers can showe. I circumvented no man for it; I bought it of no unthrifty heires; I beguiled no Innocentes with my bargaynes, nor had it by morgage, or other crafte; but symply and plainly. And yet such tales can be brought to your grace.

And Mr. Cicille is a greate mote to be cast against me, that he, poore man, is none suche. Surely, for Mr. Cicille, I take him to be an honest and a wourthy man, nor I see no cause why he shulde be brought and used to my displeasure, whom I have ever loved. But yet the comparisons are like to those that bringethe those tales unto your grace, that poore man is no purchaser. Let him chaunge his booke of purchase he had this yere with myne, and I wille give him one thousand poundes to bote, and yet wynne almost five hundreth poundes by the bargayne. It wilbe saide there was another joyned with him; so there was with me in my booke, Mr. Eresby with him, Nedeham with me. Yea, but he hath made myche of it away, and he bought it for other; who then doth choppe or chaunge lande, I or he? If it please your grace, I doo not like these comparisons; and I am soray they are used with me. But I knowe one man, who this yere boughte a colleage in London after less than v^{li} a year, and paide for it less then iij^{xx} xv^{li}, and without any cost of baildinges or reparacion maketh now yerely iij^{xx} vj^{li} or thereaboutes; so that for his threscore and fiften poundes he hath more landes then I have for my Thowsande poundes.

Yf I had done so, Smyth had bene a mervelouse man, covetous, extreame, and an heighter of rentes. What other doo or can doo, or howsoever they can height their rentes, or helpe their surveies, yt perteyneth not to me, nor he is not living that can charge me that ever I grudged at it—but rathir wisshe it mych more; and yet he that makith of iiij^{li} xvj^{s} viij^{d} one hundreth markes a yere and more, and with laieing out of lxxij^{li} x^{s} gayneth one Thowsande poundes at the Kinges handes without any more trouble, daunger, or crafte, is the sely poore man, none suche as Smyth is.

Yf of alle the lande I have boughte of the Kyng (and, except the house my brother dwelleth in, alle that I have I bought of the Kyng), I have raised one peny rent, or put out one tenaunt, who that can shewe it, I give him my lande; and yet I am the covetouse and th'extreme man, the bier and chopper of lande, when I neither take fyne, raise no rent, bye at the derest, have strife nor controversy with no man living, never chaunged one fote, and bieth but of the King.

These thinges be apperaunt, easy to be convinced, if I shulde saie untruth in any point, and I

desire no more of your grace but to heare both parties, before your grace enclyne to th'one, as I doo not doubt your grace will and doth; for else, if I knewe I were condempned in your grace's judgement, I wolde neither write nor speake, but paciently suffer, and lament my fortune.

I doo not doubt but your grace shall fynde that fewe about my lorde hath purchased lesse, usid lesse extremite, or any such thinges as myne evill willers wolde faynest lay to my charge, then I have; and I offer myself to be tried and ransaked to every coffer and booke I have, to see what they can fynde in me. They may see the money I boughte land with came not by briborye, and for that matier I offer me to alle the worlde for any peny I have taken dishonestly. I put two of my servauntes away, when I was in Mr. Cicilles office, for taking money, and selling dispatches of sutes, and my Lordes grace lettres, of whom also I shewid my L. grace. Seyng I did so to them, if I had ben giltie myself it is mervaile they wolde not accuse me, for I movid my L. grace to have had one of their eares nayled to the pillory. Th'other is in London every daie, and yet may accuse me, if he can. They be both on life at this day, and in most displeasure with me of eny man living, and for that cause onelie, and none other. But I am no vawnter of my doinges meself. Now I am constreyned to excuse, nor I have none other to whisper my tale for me, but I have ynough of whom I never deserved it, to invent and pike out of their nailes all that ever they can to deface me, and make me lesse hable to serve my Lordes grace; but pacience shall endure, and my true and loving hart shall [never] faile me to his grace, whiles I shall live. Nor their malice shall not make me thinke evill, or mistrust, or trust lesse of his goodnesse, whose nature me thinkes I shulde knowe, and therefore I love.

Other points of covetousness is two; th'one that my wief doth not goo so gorgeously as some wolde have her. If that be a fault, although she is litle, let her beare it. She hath all my money; I never debarrid her of peny, and I have often spoken to her, whie she doth not goo more court-like. I never reproved her for bestowing to mych of apparelle, or any thing that shulde advaunce her service, or be convenient for her estate. I myself I thinke shulde rather be noted to goo to sumptuously then otherwise, and therefor, as it is true, so men shulde judge that I shulde rather be content she sholde doo so.

Th'other is keaping of house. At Eaton, where I have one, whosoever cometh, whither I be there or not, shall knowe whither I kepe house or not. At London, wheare I can get no house, it is harde for me to kepe an house. I am sure I have made asmoche labour and paide aswell to have an house as any man in London, who soever is the other. And I thinke your grace doo not suppose that I am so madde, or that I love myself so litle, that now and then it wolde [not] be pleasure to me, when I mighte steale a leasure, to eate a morselle of meate, dressed after my phantasy, in myne owne house; or that I had not rather (if I might) lie somtyme at myne ease, then alwaies pent up in one chambre.[a] Though other men have good fortunes to have chambres in the Savoy, other men wolde as gladly have had such romes there as they if they could have gote it. For me, it is twelve monthes agoo sith I bargayned with Mr. Sadler[b] for CC markes for the lease of his house in the Chanon rowe; and, making alle the meanes I can, and alle the shifte and

[a] *i.e.* his chamber at Court.

[b] Sir Ralph Sadler, master of the wardrobe.

labour, it wilbe Michaielmas next save one before I shall come in it.[a] What trouble it was to me, and how desirous I was, ynoughe can testifye. Not somiche as my litle house there, whiche I paide for twelve monethes agoo, I can get into, unlesse I wille fall at unkindness with Mr. Comptroller.[b] Carlile house, having another house one this side the water, wille serve me for some purpose;[c] as it is now, unhandsom, and over the water, wille doo me no pleasure for diverse causes.

Lastly of alle, and which in deade greaveth me most, for it toucheth my love and deutie to God, to whom I owe alle thinges, is that, as I understond, for my judgement they make me a neutralle. A straunge thinge, if in tyme of persecution I was knowen what I was, now I shulde be doubted of! Yf when fewe durst professe, I not only did it myself, but defendid other that professid Christ, for fire, and bearing of fagotes, in the Busshoppe of Winchester's most ruffe, afore all Cambridge, and in a maner against all the doctours of Cambridge, and all the Justices of peax in the shire, and savid many, and so stille contynued, and now in my Lordes grace tyme[d] I shulde shrinke.

Let eny man say whearin or how. It is not the furst time these tales hath bene brought to your grace. I remember Trahern[e] at the first parliament, whom yet I never spake unto of it, for I had rather by dedes convince such men then by wordes.

Let them all say if any oone of them in dede hathe done more then I, or with reason gone further; but all these hotlinges, when they come where daungier is, they shrinke; when none is, they can come to kneale uppon your grace's carpettes, and devise common welthes as they like, and are angry that other men be not so hastie to runne streighte as their braynes croweth.

For my part, first I regarde my dutie to God, who is judge to my conscience; and secondly to the Kinges Ma^te^ and my Lordes grace, whom I reconne at this tyme as it were all one, to have regarde to their honour and saufetie. That doone, there is no man will goo farther then I, that to conserve my conscience I meane, the honour of the Kinges Ma^te^ and my Lordes grace I will staie, what haste soever the hotte spurres maketh, that knoweth not what the matier meaneth.

And yet my staie is nothing but as of one man, who can be content to take it, as it is accepted. But I marvelle whie they steppe not furder then I doo then in alle those matiers, or whearin I

[a] Strype states that Smith lived in this house in the reign of Elizabeth, and that this was the house where the commissioners met in the first year of that queen, to consult for the reformation of religion, and preparing the Book of Common Prayer. But Strype has overlooked the fact that Smith's "little house" in the same locality, which was let to Mr. Comptroller, was a different tenement to that which he bought of Sir Ralph Sadler. Strype has confused the two, and, as already noticed, has mis-stated the sum for which the little house was let.—Oxford edition, 1820, p. 31.

[b] Sir William Paget.

[c] The meaning of this passage, put into other words, is,—Carlisle House, were it once removed to this side of the river, might be of some use to me: as it is, inconvenient, and on the Surrey side, it is on many accounts unavailable.

[d] *i.e.* the protectorate of the Duke of Somerset.

[e] Bartholomew Traheron, mentioned in a former page as the duke of Suffolk's preceptor. He was made dean of Chichester 1551, though a layman like Smith. See Athenæ Cantabrigienses, i. 180.

am founde colde in that that perteigneth to Goddes honour, if any reasonable man be founde in the same hote.

What I have doone I have witnesses ynoughe. I did it not by whisperinges in eares; but in the universite before alle the lerned men, in the consesse before alle the Bushoppes, in the parliament before alle the Lordes and commons.

And yet now they wille make me a neutralle, which I never yet was, sith I was borne; nor, in somme, of other opinion of religion then I am now. The which I take only the gifte of God. Nor I never knewe of my kynne by my father's side either neutralles or papistes, but all enclyned to the truthe, and Gospell, both olde and yonge, in the first and before libertie given, and so knowen and noted. Yf I shulde degenerate now, or knowe it not, it were to me straunge. To be wrongfully blamed it must nedes greve me. But, having confidence in the goodnes of your grace, whom I knowe right welle and cannot doubt of, I am thus bolde as to write, for whom I serve with alle my hart, power, and mynde, and whom, next God, and my Prince, with my Lordes grace as I am bounde, I most love and honour. I cannot but desire to have a good estimacion of me, whereby I shulde be most animated, and as were put in comfort and harte, which knowen, alle labours whatsoever I shalle take shalle appear but light. As contrary, if I knowe it to be otherwise, my harte yet and love shalle not faile, as dewty byndeth, but dismay shall make heavy that welle accepting wolde make light.

And for any thing of the thinges before rehersed, or any other that can be objected unto me, I most humbly doo require but to aunswer unto them; and for one of my most lowlie requestes I make this, that it wolde please your grace to heare the informer and me toginther, and your grace so to be judge. I doo not doubt, but, the truthe appering, I shall finde your grace my good Ladie and Mistres, and me mych quieted of that wherewith I have bene long greaved.

Indorsed in the hand of Cecill,

Sr Tho. Smyth to
ye Duch. of Somrsett:

to which Strype has added,

By way of Apology and justification
of himself against slaunders reported
of him to her Grace. Wrot about ye
year 1550.

IX. *Notes on a Collection of Pilgrims' Signs, of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries, found in the Thames.* *By the Rev.* THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A.

Read June 10, 1859.

I HAVE great pleasure in being able to submit to the notice of the Society a large collection of relics, interesting, not only from the use to which they have been applied, but also from the excellence of their workmanship. They will be recognized as belonging to the class of antiquities known as Pilgrims' Signs. The history of their discovery is as follows:—

During the summer of 1856, being in one of the river steamers which ply between London and Westminster Bridges, I accidentally observed that excavations for the foundation of a wharf and warehouse were being made at Dowgate, near Blackfriars. I had reasons for feeling interested in this spot, and, as soon as the steamer arrived at the next landing place, I made all haste to the scene of operations. The workmen had excavated to a depth of eight or ten feet below the bed of the river, and were on the point of completing their labours preparatory to the arrival of the masons who were to construct the river-wall of the future wharf. My visit was well timed; and before I left the spot I secured several of the specimens which I now exhibit. An adjoining piece of ground was to be forthwith excavated for a similar purpose, and I therefore commissioned several of the labourers and other persons to obtain for me all that should come to light. Through them I was enabled to form the remarkable collection which I exhibit, and a selection from which is represented in Plates IV. and V.

All the objects are cast in pewter, and, from the character of the several devices, appear to have been made during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. They are of very good workmanship, and the details are rendered with faithfulness and accuracy. They are nearly all furnished with a pin of the same material for the purpose of attaching them to the dress of the wearer. Before however describing the specimens exhibited, it may be well to say a few words on Pilgrims' signs in general.

The first English antiquary who is known to have called attention to this class of relics is Thomas Gardner, who, in his History of Dunwich (1754), has given several engravings of leaden pouches or *ampullæ* found on the shore near that town; he describes them as "small portable leaden vessels, called by some *Pilgrims' Pouches*, by others *Lacrymatories*, thought to hold liquid Relicks or Tears;" those engraved he attributes to the shrines of St. James of Compostella, Our Lady of Walsingham, St. Thomas of Canterbury, &c. and concludes, "but their proper Name, Use, and Dependency, I leave to the Opinion of the Curious." The "Curious" appear however to have thought little of them, and it has not been till comparatively recently that relics of this kind have been properly investigated or rightly understood. In the year 1836 a great many were discovered in making the approaches to New London Bridge, some of which passed into the British Museum and other collections, especially into that of Mr. Charles Roach Smith. That gentleman communicated a memoir on the subject of these antiquities to the British Archæological Association[a] in 1846, and has since published several other notices relating to them in the Collectanea Antiqua.[b] In 1849 Mr. John Gough Nichols made some observations on such objects in his edition of Erasmus' Pilgrimages to Walsingham and Canterbury, and the subject has also been alluded to in Canon Stanley's Historical Memorials of Canterbury. The discovery of antiquities of this description has generally taken place in rivers: they have been found not only in the Thames, but also in the rivers at York and Lynn; as well as in those on the continent, especially in the Somme, at Abbeville, and the Seine, at Paris. The foreign examples have been noticed by Dr. Rigollot, of Amiens, and in the *Bulletin Monumental* by M. Hucher.[c]

Although the subject of Pilgrims' signs has thus engaged the attention of several archæologists, I am not aware that they have been brought prominently before the Fellows of our Society; and I may, therefore, perhaps, be allowed to give a short summary of what research has brought to light on the subject.

No custom during the middle ages was more completely identified with the everyday thought and life of all classes, than that of making pilgrimages to favourite shrines. For this the earlier part of the year was usually selected, when

[a] Journal of British Archæol. Assoc. vol. i. p. 200. See also Wright's Archæological Album.

[b] Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i. p. 81, pl. xxxi.—xxxiii., p. 115, pl. xliii.; vol. ii. p. 43, pl. xvi.—xix.; vol. iv. p. 165, pl. xxxiv.

[c] Rigollot, "*Monnaies des Evêques des Innocents.*" Paris, 1837. *Bulletin Monumental*, tom. xix. p. 504. A work has lately appeared entitled "*Notice sur des Plombs historiés trouvés dans la Seine, par Arthur Forgeais.* Paris, 1858," in which many specimens are described and engraved.

reviving spring, lengthening days, and sunny weather inspired yearnings which could not be suppressed, and sent forth bands of pilgrims to the great centres of religious attraction. The union of the sacred and secular elements, the visit to the scene of some great martyrdom, or the spot where was preserved some wonder-working relic, the pleasure of the journey, and the agreeable company brought together on these occasions, were sufficient causes to render the pilgrimages universally popular. To it we are indebted for the inimitable Canterbury Tales, which shew us how widely the love of these religious excursions was spread among all classes. We find associated not only the Franklin, the Sompnour, the Miller, the Reeve, and the Wife of Bath, but also the Gentle Knight, the Prioress, the Clerk of Oxenford, and the good Parson. Arrived at Canterbury, and having obtained their lodgings, often a matter of difficulty, the pilgrims proceeded to the Cathedral, visited the various sacred spots, and paid their devotions at each of them. The Supplement to the Canterbury Tales, a work little later, though perhaps not written by Chaucer himself, says of the pilgrims :—

> Then, as manere and custom is, signes there they bought,
> For men of contré should know whome they had sought ;
> Eche man set his silver in such thing as they liked,
> And in the meen while the miller had y-piked
> His bosom ful of signes of Canterbury brochis.

Afterwards,

> They set their signys upon their hedes, and some uppon their capp,
> And sith to the dynerward they gan for to stapp.

That such was the usual practice also in much earlier times, we learn from a passage in Giraldus Cambrensis, where he tells us of his calling with his friends, on his return from Canterbury, at the Bishop of Winchester's Palace in Southwark : " Episcopus autem videns ipsum intrantem cujus notitiam satis habuerat et socios suos cum signaculis B. Thomæ a collo suspensis," &c. Seeing him and his companions with signs of St. Thomas hanging from their necks, he remarked that he perceived they had just come from Canterbury.

So also in "The Vision of Piers Ploughman," a pilgrim is introduced, on whose cloak were signs of Sinai in proof that he had visited that locality :

> A bolle and a bagge
> He bar by his syde,

And hundred of ampulles
On his hat seten;
Signes of Synay,
And shelles of Galice,
And many a crouche on his cloke,
And keyes of Rome,
And the vernycle bi-fore,
For men shulde knowe
And se bi hise signes
Whom he sought hadde.
This folk frayned hym first,
Fro whennes he come.
"Fram Synay," he seide,
"And fram oure Lordes sepulcre;
In Bethlem and in Babiloyne,
I have ben in bothe.
In Armonye and Alisaundre.
In manye othere places.
Ye may se by my signes
That sitten on myn hatte,
That I have walked ful wide,
In weet and in drye,
And sought good seintes
For my soules helthe."

Not less conclusive, also, is the testimony of Erasmus in his Colloquy *Peregrinatio Religionis erga*, when Menedemus asks Ogygius, "What kind of attire is this that thou wearest? Thou art bedizened with semicircular shells, art full of images of tin and lead, and adorned with straw chains, and thy arm is girt with a bracelet of beads." The reply is, "I visited St. James of Compostella, and as I came back I visited the Virgin beyond the sea, who is very famous among the English." This was at Walsingham, the magnificent shrine of the Blessed Virgin,[a] where, according to Richard Southwell, one of Cromwell's visitors, there was found "a secret prevye place within the howse, where no channon nor onnye other of the howse dyd ever enter, as they saye, in whiche there were instrewmentes, pottes, belowes, flyes of such strange colers as the lick none of us had seene, with poysies and other thinges to sorte, and denyd gould and sylver, nothing ther wantinge that should belonge to the arte of multyply-

[a] For an account of Walsingham Abbey and particulars as to the signs relating to it see a memoir by the Rev. James Lee Warner, Archæological Journal, vol. xiii. p. 115.

eng." This was regarded as the chamber of an alchemist; the more likely conjecture is that it was the place where the sacristan fabricated his "signacula" for the overcoming tide of pilgrims that frequented the shrine. I am told that a furnace of strictly similar character, and doubtless intended for a like purpose, exists in Canterbury Cathedral.

That the sale of these objects was very profitable, we learn from a curious ordinance of Louis and Johanna, King and Queen of Sicily, which has been brought to light by M. Hucher. The sacristan of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen at St. Maximin was authorised by the prior and convent to sell to the pilgrims the leaden signs, "imagines plumbeas dictæ Sanctæ Mariæ quæ peregrinis dantur ad devotionem ipsius sanctæ," and had the custody of the iron moulds for making them; but certain others seem also to have made these images and sold them to the pilgrims, greatly to the loss of the convent. The King and Queen of Sicily issued therefore their letters forbidding such interference with the ancient rights of the church. This ordinance is dated 1354, and a leaden sign, such as is there alluded to, has been discovered in the Seine.[a]

It now only remains for me to describe the specimens under consideration.

The great Canterbury Saint, as we may naturally expect, is frequently represented among these relics, and it is probably to him that we may ascribe the signs given in Plate IV. figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10; and Plate V. figs. 2, 3, 6, 7. The largest of these (fig. 1), representing the Archbishop riding, is a very rare variety; and I am aware of only another specimen, and that is in the Roach Smith collection, British Museum. This latter example is of about the same size, but differs in the details, shewing that it has been cast in a different mould. Fig. 2 exhibits the bust of Becket, with his name underneath THOMAS. Fig. 3 resembles the last, but has no name. In both these specimens the pontifical ornaments are carefully rendered. Fig. 4, probably somewhat later in date than the others, is very elegant, and must have formed a handsome brooch. Sometimes the saint is merely indicated by his initial, as in fig. 10. The two swords which appear in Plate V. fig. 3, are not usual, but are to be seen in another example found in the Thames in 1855, and now in the British Museum. It is somewhat doubtful whether the two episcopal personages represented in figs. 6 and 7 are intended for the Archbishop; but, in the absence of the emblems of any other saint, they may be considered to do so. Two of the most curious relics however remain to be

[a] The sign is engraved in Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iv. pl. xxxix. as well as in the *Bulletin Moumental*, tom. xix. p. 506, and in M. Forgeais' work. The original is in the possession of M. Forgeais at Paris.

noticed, being the bells (figs. 9 and 10). They are inscribed CAMPANA THOME,[a] but it is not easy to ascertain the purpose for which they were made.

The Rood represented in Plate IV. fig. 6, may possibly be only an ordinary symbol of devotion, or it may refer to the "Rood of Grace" at Boxley, in Kent. Another crucifix is represented in fig. 9, where the cross takes the form of the Greek Tau; on the arms may be seen the word signum. This form of cross, which was considered a symbol of St. Anthony, was especially regarded during the middle ages as being the sign put on the foreheads of the faithful.[b] The inscription to the memory of Thomas Talbot, priest, on a sepulchral slab in Southwell Minster, terminates "expectans resurrectionem mortuorum sub signo thau." The very elegant device of the Agnus Dei (Plate V. fig. 1), scarcely needs to be pointed out; one almost identical, from the Thames in 1853, is preserved in the British Museum. The figures of the Blessed Virgin, such as Plate IV. fig. 13, Plate V. figs. 15 and 17, refer possibly to the great shrine at Walsingham. In fig. 13, the Virgin and Child appear to issue from a crescent, which has however been considered by some as a ship, in which case it would refer to our Lady of Boulogne, whose image was said to have been so conveyed to that town.

The episcopal figure, Plate IV. No. 8, is no doubt intended for St. Leonard, who, though more often represented in works of art as a deacon, is pictured as an abbot in several instances in England. In the British Museum is a headless sign of similar character and costume, under which is a tablet inscribed S. Leonard. This sign has been attributed by Mr. C. R. Smith to the Priory of St. Leonard's at York.

The royal heads, Plate IV. fig. 7, and Plate V. fig. 4, refer to St. Edward the Confessor, whose shrine was at Westminster, or to St. Edmund, at Bury.

The combination of dagger and shield represented in Plate IV. fig. 5, is somewhat unintelligible. Another, identical in general form and size, is preserved in the British Museum, but is different in several of the details. The devices on the shield appear to be boars' heads.

Of the remainder of the signs, the half-length figure, Plate V. fig. 11, seems from the inscription kenelmi to refer to St. Kenelm,[c] son of Kenulph, King of Mercia, whose tomb at Winchcombe in Gloucestershire was reputed to be endowed with

[a] An ampulla on which is represented the martyrdom of Becket may be found engraved in Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 186.

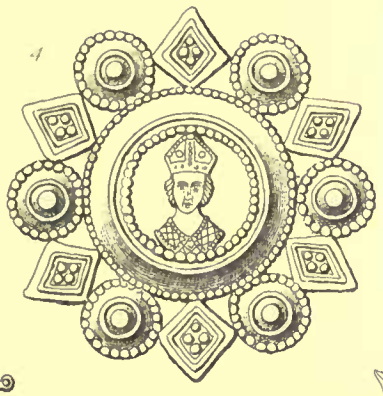
[b] Ezekiel, ix. 4, thus given in the Vulgate: "Signa Thau super frontes virorum gementium et dolentium super cunctis abominationibus."

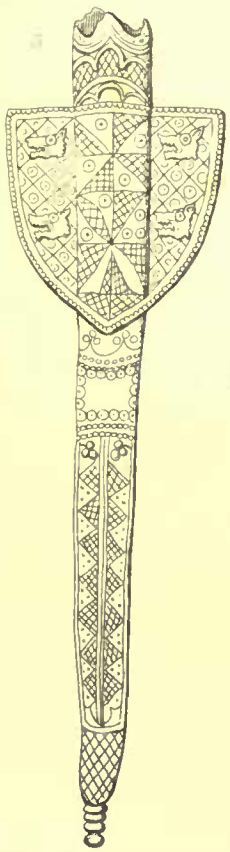
[c] For an account of this saint, and representations of him, see Norfolk Archæology, vol. ii. p. 280.

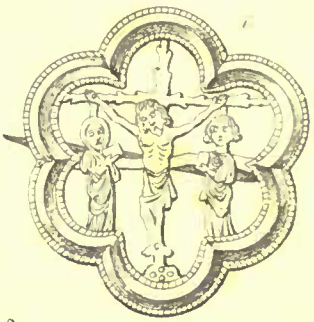
miraculous virtues. The head in a doctor's cap, Plate V. fig. 14, may possibly refer to Sir John Schorn, rector of North Marston, in Buckinghamshire, whose shrine, formerly in the church of that parish, was removed by Bishop Beauchamp to the chapel at Windsor. This saint was in high repute for cures of the ague, and is represented in a cap somewhat like that here seen. It is difficult to attribute the lady's head represented in Plate V. fig. 13, but the costume fixes its date to the early part of the fifteenth century. The two curious objects in Plate IV. figs. 11 and 12, seem to be partly elucidated by a specimen preserved in the British Museum, which shews that these strange flag-shaped ornaments were intended to accompany a standing figure. It only remains for me to mention that Plate V. fig. 5, is the pinnacle of a rich canopy, no doubt a portion of some larger subject, and that the pretty little device in fig. 8 was probably worn as a brooch. The curious pointed object, fig. 16, somewhat resembles the end of a dagger-sheath, but may have been intended for a rude ampulla.

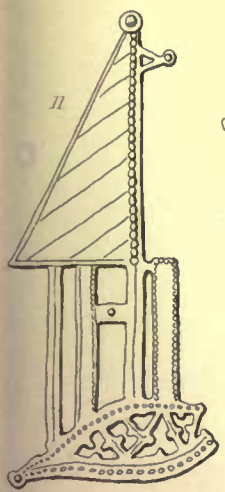
I cannot conclude without offering my best thanks to A. W. Franks, Esq. of the British Museum for his kindness in comparing my specimens with those preserved in his department, and for the valuable suggestions with which he has favoured me.

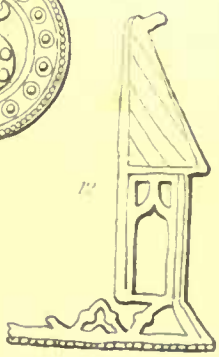
THOMAS HUGO.











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PILGRIMS SIGNS FOUND IN THE THAMES.

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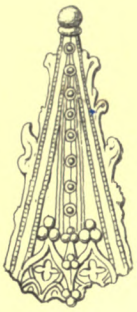

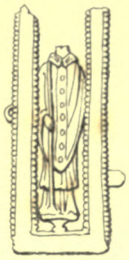

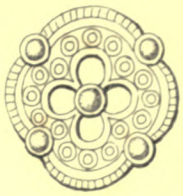

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X. *Observations on a Grant of an Advowson of a Chantry to a Guild in 34 Henry VI., exhibited by Joseph Jackson Howard, Esq. F.S.A.* *By* WESTON STYLEMAN WALFORD, *Esq. F.S.A.*

Read March 17, 1859.

THE Deed exhibited this evening by Mr. Joseph Jackson Howard has appeared to me sufficiently interesting to justify a few remarks on its contents. It bears date the 7th of August 1456 (34 Hen. VI.). By it Richard Acreman granted to John Oudene, master of the fraternity or guild of St. George of the Men of the Mystery of Armourers of the city of London, to John Ruttour and William Terry, the wardens, and to the brothers and sisters of the same guild the advowson of or right of presenting a chaplain to the chantry which Joan, formerly the wife of Nicholas de Wokyndon, Knight, founded at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr in the new work of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, viz. on the north side of the same church; which altar was, at the time of this grant, placed in the chapel then commonly called the chapel of St. George within the said church, in which chapel the said guild was then lately founded and established by King Henry VI.: this advowson the said Richard Acreman had of the grant of Thomas Coburley and Thomas Burghille, who had it (*inter alia*) of the gift of Richard Bastard of Bedford and Isabella his wife, who was kinswoman and heiress of the said Nicholas de Wokyndon. The deed was witnessed by William Marwe, the Mayor of the city of London, and John Yonge and Thomas Ouldegreve, the Sheriffs.[a] Appended by a label is the seal of Richard Acreman on red wax; it is circular, one inch in diameter, and bears an escutcheon charged with three

[a] The original deed, with the contractions extended, except a few that may be doubted, is as follows: "Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego Ricardus Acreman tradidi, dimisi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Johanni Oudene, Magistro Fraternitatis sive Gilde Sancti Georgii de hominibus Mistere Armurariorum Civitatis London', Johanni Ruttour et Willelmo Terry, Gardianis Fraternitatis sive Gilde predicte, ac Fratribus et Sororibus ejusdem Fraternitatis sive Gilde totam illam Advocacionem ac presentacionem Capellan' illius Cantarie quam Johanna, quondam uxor Nicholai de Wokyndone, Militis, fundavit ad altare Sancti Thome Martiris in novo opere ecclesie cathedralis Sancti Pauli London', scilicet, ex parte boriali ejusdem ecclesie; et quod quidem altare modo situr (*sic*) in Capella nunc vulgariter nuncupata Capella Sancti Georgii infra (*sic*) ecclesiam predictam; in qua Capella dicta Fraternitas sive Gilda per Dominum Henricum Regem Anglie Sextum modo fundata, formata, erecta, et stabilita est; quam quidem Advocacionem ac

pallets and on a chief as many mullets pierced; the legend is Sigillum ricardi akerman, in black letter. Though this is a good heraldic coat, there is nothing to indicate the rank or position in life of the bearer; nor do I find him mentioned elsewhere, or the coat ascribed to any one of the same surname. It may have been one of the many coats of arms met with on medieval seals, which, owing probably to an early failure of the issue of those who bore them, have never found their way into any of our ordinaries or heraldic collections. The surname, Acreman, having been derived from the occupation of those originally so called, may be found in various localities, without any ground for inferring consanguinity. In a few manors a small class of tenants of the humblest grade appear to have been called Acremen or Akermen, but the word had evidently a more extensive signification. Acre or Aker, in early times, did not mean any definite quantity of land, but, like *Ager* in Latin, was equivalent to field or plot of land; and it was the same in Anglo-Saxon and German. Acremen were, in our early English, fieldmen, men employed in agricultural labor, *i. e.*, in modern language, husbandmen. At that time free laborers were few, and money wages rare: the demesnes of a manor, those parts which the lord retained in his own hands, were cultivated almost exclusively by men attached in various degrees of serfdom to the soil, who were allowed to occupy for their own benefit small pieces of ground, at low and sometimes almost nominal rents, and on the produce of those plots they chiefly subsisted. Such tenant-laborers were distinguished by several designations. Some rendered more days' work *per annum* than others, and some only certain kinds of work. Akerman occurs, as a surname, several times in the Hundred Rolls, under Cam-

presentacionem ego predictus Ricardus nuper habui ex tradicione, dimissione, et confirmacione Thome Coburley et Thome Burghille; et qui quidem Thomas et Thomas eandem Advocacionem ac presentacionem preantea habuerunt, inter alia, ex dono et feoffamento Ricardi Bastardi de Bedford' et Isabelle uxoris sue, consanguinee et heredis predicti Nicholai de Wokyndone; Habendam et tenendam predictam Advocacionem ac presentacionem Capellan' Cantarie predicte prefatis Johanni Oudene, Magistro, Johanni Ruttour et Willelmo Terry, Gardianis, ac Fratribus et Sororibus predicte Fraternitatis sive Gilde, et successoribus suis imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui. [Hiis testibus,] Willelmo Marwe tunc Maiore Civitatis London', Johanne Yonge et Thoma Ouldegreve tunc Vicecomitibus ejusdem. Datum London' septimo die mensis Augusti anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, et anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum Anglie tricesimo quarto." Under the fold is "Ecton," and also "r' coram M' et Abraham viij° die Augusti Anno xxxiiij^to Henrici vj^ti." Indorsed is "Ista carta lecta fuit et irrotulata in hustengo London' de communibus placitis tent' die lune proximo ante festum Sancti Kalixti Pape anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum tricesimo quinto. Spycer." And a little lower down is "Ista carta fuit lecta, sigillata, et registrata in registro Reverendorum dominorum Decani et Capituli ecclesie Cathedralis Sancti Pauli London' primo die mensis Aprilis anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo nono, tempore magistri Rogeri Radclyffe Decani. Percy."

bridgeshire and Oxfordshire, chiefly among the *villani, cotarii*, and the like. The name is found also more than once in the Rent-roll of the Abbey of Malmesbury, of the 12th Edward I., printed in the Archæologia, XXXVII. p. 273; in one place (p. 281) *Akermanni* denotes a class of inferior tenants, and in another (p. 294) some persons are so called without any land or rent being mentioned in connexion with them. The name is found most commonly on lands held under religious houses of Anglo-Saxon or, at least, of very early foundation. Many of the tenants employed in cultivating the soil held their pieces of land and cottages at the will of the lord; and these became the copyholders of later times. Long before the date of this grant, as is well known, surnames had, with few exceptions, ceased to be any indications of the social positions of those who bore them; and, doubtless, Richard Acreman occupied a place in society to which his ancestors who acquired the surname never aspired.

The Armourers were one of the smaller companies of the city of London, yet the above-mentioned guild was not, I conceive, a trade guild. Most of those associations of artisans combined with the regulations respecting their craft or mystery others that made them partake also of the nature of the religious guilds which were then so numerous, and resembled benefit clubs in modern times;[a] but I think we shall see reason to believe, that this fraternity or guild of St. George was in reality a religious guild, though there may be some obscurity about the matter.

Such guilds had for their objects to promote peace and goodwill among the members, to assist the sick and unfortunate among them, to provide for the attendance of and offerings by the members at the funerals of those who died, and, what was then esteemed of far more importance, to secure perpetual masses and prayers for the repose of their souls. Many guilds of this class admitted women, and others allowed the widows of brethren to share in the benefits; which accounts for the mention of sisters as belonging to the guild of the *men* of the mystery of armourers. We may presume that the especial object of the guild in purchasing the above-mentioned advowson was to secure permanent means of obtaining such masses and prayers for the souls of deceased brothers and sisters; for that had then become a matter of some little difficulty. A few observations, explanatory of this state of things, may not be thought irrelevant, as they will render the purpose of the deed exhibited more intelligible.

After the doctrine of purgatory and the efficacy of prayers and masses for the dead had taken possession of the public mind, it had great influence in divers

[a] Similar fraternities are still common in Roman Catholic countries.

ways, and various were the means resorted to for procuring those supposed benefits. It was necessary to propitiate the living in order to induce them thus to serve the dead. Monasteries were founded or enlarged to secure these advantages for the benefactors; and kings and other influential persons were included in the prayers and masses so purchased to obtain their patronage and protection. From a like motive were churches occasionally erected, but more frequently were chantries founded in existing churches. Not a few of the aisles of parish churches were additions made for purposes of this kind. How far such practices might have gone, but for impediments of a legal nature, it were impossible to say. As is well known, statutes prohibiting the devoting of land to these and similar uses were enacted early in our national history, especially that *de religiosis* in the 7th Edward I., making the licence of the King and other chief lords necessary to the validity of such donations, or gifts in mortmain as they were called. The King and other great feudal lords were materially interested in the matter, as they lost by these endowments many advantages which would otherwise have accrued to them, not only military and other services, but also the wardships and marriages of heirs, and the pecuniary payments that became due on the deaths of tenants and the alienations of the lands. Whether from political considerations or less worthy motives I will not pretend to determine, but the cost of obtaining from the Crown the requisite licence for such gifts became after a while so great as to amount almost to a refusal; and as land was, we must remember, in those days the only kind of property from which a permanent income was derivable, it was a great obstacle, where perpetual masses were desired, not to be able to provide for them by gifts of land or rents. This led to other expedients being devised to accomplish the same ends. One of them was to pay down a sum of money to some religious house on security being given that a priest should celebrate masses there for the deceased, either for a certain time or for ever, as the bargain might be. The Paston Letters afford an example both of the difficulty and the remedy, almost contemporaneous with the deed exhibited. Sir John Fastolf, who was desirous of founding a college of priests to pray for his soul, wrote, about 1457, to his cousin John Paston, to move the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester [for their influence with the King], that he might have a licence to amortise without any great fine, in recompense of his long service to the King and his father, which had never been rewarded; and since he intended to make the King founder and ever to be prayed for, and to have prayers also for his right noble progenitors, his father, and uncles, he (Sir John) thought he ought not to be denied his desire. The letter in reply, which

was written by his nephew Henry Fylungley, informed him, that John Paston and the writer (who was also a lawyer) had communed together as touching the college, and that too great a good (*i.e.* sum) was asked for the licence, for they asked for every C. marks that he would amortise D. marks; and he proceeded to acquaint Sir John that Lady Abergavenny[a] had, in divers abbeys in Leicestershire, vij. or viij. priests singing for her perpetually by his brother Darcy's and his uncle Brokesby's means, for they were her executors; and they accorded for money, and gave CC. or CCC. marks, as they might accord, for a priest; and for the surety that he should sing in the same abbey for ever, they had manors of good value bounden to such persons as pleased the said Brokesby and Darcy, that the said service should be kept; and for little more than the King asked them for a licence they were through with the said abbots; and the writer held this way as sure as the other.[b] Such arrangements with religious houses to secure masses for deceased persons became probably not uncommon, in consequence of the difficulty and expense of procuring a license to put lands in mortmain for endowing a chantry. Two deeds for effectuating bargains of the kind with abbeys in 1503 and 1511 are printed in Madox's Formulare Anglicanum.[c]

But all these modes of obtaining the benefit of such prayers and masses were open only to the wealthy. The great body of the people had not individually the means of providing religious observances for the repose of their souls, and would have felt themselves in a very melancholy predicament, had not some method been devised for securing to them the consolation of having taken such precautions for their relief in purgatory. They formed at an early period, and very generally, those associations called fraternities or guilds of the religious kind above mentioned; a practice which had existed to some extent from Anglo-Saxon times. Each of the members contributed a small sum annually to provide a priest to say masses for their souls after death; and they also agreed to attend and offer at the funerals of deceased members; which was regarded as another great advantage at a time when recourse was had to all kinds of contrivances for obtaining a few *pater-nosters* or *aves* while the soul was supposed to be in a

[a] Her will is given in Dugd. Baronage, i. p. 240, and Testamenta Vetusta, p. 224. She was a daughter of Richard and one of the sisters and co-heirs of Thomas Earl of Arundel; her husband was William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny. She died in 1434. The writer of the letter, Henry Fylungley, was one of her legatees. The mode here mentioned of providing masses for her soul was not specially directed by the will.

[b] Vol. I. Letters XLI. XLII.

[c] See Nos. DXCVII. DXCIX.

temporary state of suffering, and capable of being so relieved. For the prayers of laymen were deemed efficacious, as well as those of ecclesiastics; whence the poor beadsmen and women provided by some guilds, and maintained on certain eleemosynary establishments, and also the earnest invocations on sepulchral monuments, that the passers-by would thus contribute to the repose of the souls of the deceased. These associations became very general, not only in cities and towns, but also in villages, some having several of them, and few being without one.[a] In many country parishes portions of the guild-houses or guild-halls still exist near the respective churches, and retain their name, which has been a puzzle occasionally to persons who were not aware of the nature and prevalence of such fraternities. The guild-house was generally hired, but some of these guilds were enriched by donations and legacies, and purchased lands and houses; and hence the substantial buildings which here and there yet testify to their existence. So popular were they, and so beneficial were they deemed, that even princes and nobles, as well as other wealthy persons of both sexes, were glad to join them, as the ready means of securing for their souls, not only perpetual masses, but also prayers and offerings of a larger number of persons than any one religious house would ordinarily furnish. They had also their annual feast-days, and their processions with livery-hoods, badges, banners, and music, to make them agreeable to the commonalty.[b]

Many of these guilds, though they must have had at least a royal licence, for without it they were not considered legally established, do not appear to have been incorporated; but that which is mentioned in the deed exhibited had, about three years before the date of it, obtained this privilege by the favor of King Henry VI. Its origin and nature may be learned from the charter, which is dated the 8th of May, 31 Hen. VI. (1453).[c] The recital informs us, that the Men of the Mystery of Armourers of the city of London and their predecessors had, for a long time previous, an intimate and brotherly love; in so much that they, earnestly desiring to prosper and be increased, had begun to make, found, and establish, to the praise and honor of God and of the glorious martyr

[a] Many of the piscinæ found in the naves and aisles of churches once belonged to guild-altars.

[b] Two wealthy guilds at Cambridge, of which several distinguished persons were members, founded Corpus Christi College in that University. Some interesting particulars of those guilds are given in Masters's History of that college. See also on the subject of guilds of the religious kind Dr. Rock's Church of our Fathers, vol. ii. p. 395, and the works referred to by him, and Mr. Burtt's account of certain guilds at Walsingham, in the volume containing the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at Norwich, in 1847.

[c] It is inrolled 31 Hen. VI. secunda pat. m. 12. An old translation into English is in the possession of the Armourers' Company.

St. George, a fraternity or guild among themselves, and to burn a certain wax light to the praise and honor of the famous martyr in his chapel within the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, at certain times before the image of the same martyr, and had piously, peaceably, and quietly offered, found, and charitably maintained and continued certain divine services, ecclesiastical ornaments, and other works of charity and piety there, for a long time past, yearly to the honor of the same martyr; and that they, fearing the said fraternity not to be rightly and lawfully founded and established according to law, had most humbly requested the King, that he would graciously favor their pious and devout intentions in that behalf. The King, being willing to provide that the said fraternity or guild might continue to future ages, and in order to found such fraternity or guild from himself, through the devotion which he bore and had towards the said glorious martyr, and assuming and being willing to be called the founder of that fraternity or guild for ever, to the praise, glory, and honor of Almighty God and the most glorious and undefiled Virgin Mary, mother of Christ, and also [to the praise, glory, and honor] of the blessed George, the famous martyr, did of his special grace, and of his certain knowledge, found, create, and establish a certain fraternity or guild of his liege men of the said Mystery of Armourers, and of all others faithful in Christ willing to be of the same fraternity or guild, to find and maintain one chaplain to perform divine service daily for his (the King's) state and the state of the brothers and sisters of the same fraternity or guild while he lived, and for his soul and the souls of the brothers and sisters of that fraternity or guild after he had departed this life, and the souls of all faithful people deceased; and also [to find and maintain] certain poor persons of both sexes in like manner to entreat and pray the Most High for ever for the state and souls aforesaid in the aforesaid chapel. The charter proceeded to create the fraternity or guild a corporation by the name of the Fraternity or Guild of St. George of the Men of the Mystery of Armourers of the city of London, and to empower them to receive and accept any persons to be such chaplain and poor persons, according to the rules of the more noble and worthy part of the said brothers and sisters and their successors, to be in that behalf made. It then authorised them to appoint a master and wardens from time to time, and in the corporate name to purchase and take lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions in fee, and also to plead and be impleaded in that name, and to have a common seal, and to hold meetings, and to make rules and orders, as well for the said chaplain and poor persons, as for the good government of the said fraternity or guild; and finally there is a licence to purchase lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions to the extent of 10*l. per*

annum towards the maintenance of the said chaplain to perform divine service in form aforesaid.

Strype and others appear to have understood this charter as incorporating the Company of Armourers; which is hardly consistent with the language of it. The company had existed long before; and the charter is confined to the establishment of a guild among themselves (*de se*), which they had commenced without the requisite royal licence, and which is throughout treated as a guild of the religious kind exclusively. The charter even seems to have contemplated persons becoming members of the guild, who did not belong to the company. The Armourers are in possession of a silver matrix of a seal, apparently of the early part of the fifteenth century, which has been supposed to be the common seal of the guild, made on its incorporation by this charter; but if I have assigned the correct date to it, this could not have been the case. A woodcut of an impression is given in the margin. It will be seen to be circular, about 1⅛ inch in diameter; the device is St. George on foot piercing the dragon with a spear, between two escutcheons, that on the dexter being charged with two swords in saltire, which still form part of the arms of the company, that on the sinister with a plain cross, doubtless for St. George, and each escutcheon ensigned with a helmet respecting the other; the legend is in black letter, and read *in extenso* is **Sigillum commune artis armurariorum ciuitatis londoncarum.** One would have expected that the seal of the guild, made on its incorporation, if it bore any name at all, would have borne its corporate name or, at least, a legend in accordance with that name; but this legend makes the seal look like a seal of the company, St. George being their patron saint. A charter for founding a religious guild of St. George, at Norwich, in 5 Henry V., as given by Madox in his Firma Burgi,[a] is very like that in question; and so is the charter of 26 Henry VI. for founding the Haberdashers' guild of St. Katherine, judging from the description given of it by Herbert;[b] whereas the charter of 17 Henry VI. for founding the Drapers' guild of St. Mary, and that of 20 Edward IV. for founding the Clothworkers' guild of St. Mary, both of which were of the *mixed* kind, were materially different, extending

Common Seal of the Armourers of London.

[a] Page 24.

[b] Vol. ii. p. 536.

as well to the mystery as to the guild.[a] The charter of the Fishmongers' Company in 11 Henry VI. shows how such instruments were expressed when the incorporation had relation to the mystery only.[b]

The ordinary practice of these guilds was to hire a priest to be their chaplain and say the requisite masses and prayers at some particular altar. He was often a chantry priest that already had similar duties to discharge. But we have in the deed exhibited evidence of a less common expedient, one of which probably few traces have come down to us, the purchase of the advowson of or perpetual right of presentation to a chantry already existing. The issue of the founder should seem to have failed, and the remote heir, feeling probably but little interest in the matter, or yielding perhaps to the importunity of a husband who felt none, joined with him in alienating this advowson. By the acquisition of it the guild obtained virtually a permanent chantry of their own, including priest, altar, and endowment; for they, no doubt, arranged with the clerk whom they presented, that he should be also their chaplain, and should say from time to time at the same altar the requisite prayers and masses for deceased members of the guild. It may be thought that for a purchase of this kind no licence was required; but the fact was otherwise. As early as the time of Richard II. these guilds had become purchasers and donees of lands, and it should seem even of advowsons; and when in the fifteenth year of that king's reign the Statute of Mortmain (7 Edward I.) was extended to lay corporations, purchases of lands and *advowsons* by guilds or fraternities were expressly subjected to the same restrictions. In the instance before us, the licence contained in the charter to purchase lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions was most likely considered to be sufficient, and to have rendered any further licence for the acquisition of the advowson unnecessary.

The last priest of this chantry was Robert Shuter. He was presented in the 16 Henry VIII. by the master and wardens, not of the guild, but of the craft or mystery of the Armourers, with the consent of the whole body of the said mystery. What had intervened to account for this does not appear. The bond and indenture executed on that occasion are in the possession of the company. By the former Shuter became bound to the master and wardens of the mystery in 100*l.*; by the latter, which was made between them and Shuter, his duties were prescribed, and the bond was to become void on the performance of them. Nothing is said in it of the guild, though he was to give attendance on the master and wardens of the mystery unto all such burials and obits as they should go unto in their livery. He engaged to keep and maintain all books, chalices, vestments, jewels, and

[a] See Herbert, vol. i. p. 482, ii. p. 649.

[b] Herbert, ii. p. 116.

other ornaments delivered to him belonging to the chantry, an inventory of which is annexed to the indenture, and, at his departure, to re-deliver them to the master and wardens. They were of the usual kind for an altar, though some of the vestments were richly ornamented. There is only one book mentioned in the inventory, and that is a great mass book of vellum "lymmbde" with gold. Nor is there more than one chalice, but it is worthy of notice as having on it two coats of arms; one is said to have been a shield of red with a white lion with a crown on his head of gold, which we shall presently see was the coat of Sir Nicholas de Wokyndon, the founder: the other had a field red with three fleurs de lis blue, which is false heraldry, and I cannot identify it; but it may have been intended for the arms of his wife, or, more correctly speaking, those of her father. What the jewels were is not quite clear: probably they were the chalice, the paten (which was enameled with the Trinity), two corporases, the pax, and the richest *parures* of the vestments; for there was a great chest of iron with a bar running through with a lock, to keep the jewels of St. George in. There was another chest with a lock, but no key, and therefore not likely to have been used for keeping any thing of value.

In the deed exhibited the chantry is stated to have been founded by Joan, late wife of Nicholas de Wokyndon, Knight, but it appears to have had its origin in his will. We read in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's,[a] where he speaks of some chantries in the new work on the north side, that in the "15th year of King Edward II. did Nicolas de Wokyndon, by his testament, devise 100^{s} to the before specified building called the new work, in regard that in it he intended to be buried; and, to maintain a chantry priest therein celebrating for his soul, bequeathed certain lands lying in the parish of St. Olaff (London) to the dean and chapter of this Church; and moreover, for the like consideration, gave an 100*l.* to purchase rents for the finding of another chantry priest at the altar of St. Thomas, and to the keeping his obit and the obit of Joan his wife for ever." It appears by deeds in the possession of the Armourers' Company, that his widow, who was his executrix, purchased the rents required, and endowed the chantry at the altar of St. Thomas with them in January 1320-1, reserving the advowson of the chantry to herself for her life, and afterwards to *the heirs of her late husband.* This reconciles what is said of her having been the founder with that part of the deed which traces the advowson from *his* heir; it shows, at the same time, that the 15th Edward II. mentioned by Dugdale as the date of his will must be a mistake; probably it should be the 13th Edward II., which regnal year ended

[a] Second edit. p. 32.

on the 7th of July, 1320. The altar of St. Thomas was in the new work on the north side of the cathedral, where the testator intended to be buried. He had most likely made some arrangement with the Dean and Chapter for that purpose.

Of Sir Nicholas de Wokyndon and Joan his wife little is known. His family derived their name from North Wokyndon, or Ockendon as it is now called, in Essex, in which parish, and in Chadwell that is near it, they appear to have held property from an early period under the bishops of London.[a] His father was, in all probability, the Sir William de Wokyndon who witnessed the grant by Sir William le Baud in 1275 to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's of a buck and a doe annually,[b] which led to a remarkable procession and an offering of a buck and a doe every year in St. Paul's until the time of Camden and Stow, both of whom speak of having seen some part of the ceremony.[c] The confirmation of that grant by Sir Walter le Baud, son of Sir William, in 1302, was witnessed by Sir Nicholas de Wokyndon himself and some other knights of Essex.[d] He was evidently a person of some importance in the county; for, though I do not find him among the King's tenants *in capite*, he was enrolled for military service in Essex in 24 Edw. I. (1296), and summoned to serve against the Scots in 29 Edw. I. (1301);[e] and he and his consort, doubtless the above-mentioned Joan, were invited among the nobility and other distinguished persons to attend the coronation of Edward II. and his Queen in 1308.[f] He was one of the knights returned for the perambulation of the forests in 1316, and was, in the same year, one of the conservators of the peace.[g] He and also a cadet of the family named Thomas de Wokyndon, probably a brother, appear in the Roll of the Arms of Bannerets in the time of Edward II. under Essex; where his own arms are given as, "de goules a un lion de argent corone de or," and those of Thomas "de goules a un lion barre de argent e de azure." He died, it should seem, on the 8th of May, 1320; for on that day was his obit to be kept, as appears by the endowment, which we have seen, took place by the grant of his widow in January 1320-1.[h] He left no male issue; an only daughter named Joan married Thomas de Halughton, and had issue a son, Sir Nicholas de Halughton, who died in 1338, seized of estates at Ockendon, Chadwell,

[a] Morant's Essex, i. pp. 102, 230.

[b] Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, p. 17. Stow's London.

[c] Camden's Britannia, edit. 1590, p. 330. Stow's London.

[d] Dugdale and Stow, *ubi supra*.

[e] Parl. Writs, i. pp. 273-4, 352.

[f] Rymer, ii. p. 31.

[g] Parl. Writs, ii. p. 161; App. p. 103.

[h] Deeds in the possession of the Armourers' Company.

and other places in Essex. His wife, whose name was Margaret, survived him. He probably died young, for his heirs were two infant daughters, Margaret and Joan, of the respective ages of two years and one year;[a] a supposed brother and nephew, both named Thomas, mentioned by Morant, are more likely to have been an uncle and cousin. Margaret (the daughter) married, successively, Roger de Northwode, John Barry, and Walter Gray; Joan married Thomas de Asheton.[b] Whether either of them left issue does not appear; nor can I trace any connexion between them and Isabella wife of Richard Bastard of Bedford, who is called in the deed exhibited *consanguinea et hæres* of Sir Nicholas de Wokyndon, and should seem to have succeeded in some way to the advowson of the chantry founded pursuant to his will. She may have been, and probably was, some relation too remote to have felt any particular interest in the founder, and was therefore content to part with the right of presenting a priest to his chantry. She and her husband were both living in 1442; for the deed whereby they conveyed the advowson and other property to Coburley and Burghille bears date the 20th of June, 20 Henry VI.[c] She is not therein called *consanguinea et hæres* of Sir Nicholas de Wokyndon, or otherwise described as in any manner related to him; but the other property comprised in the deed is the Wokendon Fee in Terling, Essex, which, we may reasonably suppose, derived its name from having been in his family, though Morant has not traced its history so far back. At the date of that deed 104 years had elapsed since the death of Sir Nicholas de Halughton; and there had, therefore, been ample time for several devolutions of the property before it came to Isabella.

It may have been observed that the name of her husband, Richard Bastard of Bedford, is remarkable. Bastard was a name well known in Devonshire, and the names of Coburley and Burghille possibly, as well as Acreman, may be referable to the West of England; but why is he called of Bedford? No other person mentioned in the deed has the place of his or her residence subjoined; nor can I discover that there was then at Bedford any family or person of the name of Bastard. If, however, John Duke of Bedford, who died in 1435, had an illegitimate son named Richard whom he recognized, that son would, in all probability, have been called Richard Bastard of Bedford; for there was at that time a practice, not only in France, but also in this country, of thus designating illegitimate sons of noblemen. Contemporary with this Richard were John Bastard of Clarence, John Bastard of Somerset, a Bastard of Salisbury, and Thomas

[a] Writ and Inq. p. m. 13 Edw. III.

[b] Morant's Essex, i. 230.

[c] See a copy of that deed in a subsequent note.

Bastard of Falconbridge, sons respectively of Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Beaufort Earl of Somerset, Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury, and William Neville Lord Falconbridge. Should it be suggested that the *i* at the end of *Bastardi* in the deed exhibited is in reality a mark of contraction used after *d* to supply a final *e*, besides that it more resembles an *i*, all doubt on this point is removed by the original deed by which this Richard and his wife conveyed the advowson to Coburley and Burghille. On examining that, I found he is there called *Ricardus Bastardus de Bedford' Armiger.*[a] Now, had Bastard been a family surname in either case, it would hardly have been latinized; for such was not then the practice in preparing deeds; add to which, the name of no other person mentioned in the last-mentioned deed is followed by that of the place of his or her residence. The seal of Richard remains attached, and a woodcut of it is given in the margin. It will be seen to be a small one with a device and motto, but no name; and consequently it affords no evidence as to who or what he was. Under all the circumstances, I think we may accept this Richard as a long-forgotten illegitimate son of John Duke of Bedford, uncle of Henry VI. and brother of the before-mentioned Duke of Clarence. I have sought in vain for any mention of such a son of his elsewhere. It is not at all improbable that an illegitimate son of that prince, even though recognized by him, should have passed into oblivion, if he did nothing to distinguish himself. There was an Earl of Bedford a few years earlier, who, in point of time, might possibly have been the father of this Richard, viz. Ingelram de Coucy, who came to this country as a hostage from France in 1363, and, having married Isabella, one of the daughters of Edward III. was created by him Earl of Bedford. On the renewal of the war with France in 1369, he went into

Seal of Richard Bastard of Bedford.

[a] The original deed, with the contracted words extended, except a few that are doubtful, is as follows: "Sciant presentes et futuri, quod nos Ricardus Bastardus de Bedford' Armiger et Isabella uxor mea dedimus, concessimus, et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Thome Coburley et Thome Burghille omnia terras et tenementa nostra cum homagiis, feodis militum, maritagiis, releviis, escaetis, heriettis, redditibus, et serviciis omnium tenentium, tam liberorum quam nativorum, de feodo nostro vocato Wokendone Fee in villa de Terlyng Crikkeshithe, in comitatu Essex, una cum Advocacione Cantarie Sancti Thome in ecclesia cathedrali Sancti Pauli, London', ex parte boriali, cum omnibus suis pertinenciis; Habenda et tenenda omnia predicta terras et tenementa cum homagiis, feodis militum, maritagiis, releviis, escaetis, heriettis, redditibus, et serviciis omnium tenentium, tam liberorum quam nativorum, de feodo nostro predicto, una cum Advocacione Cantarie predicte, ut supradictum est, cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, prefatis Thome Coburley et Thome Burghille, heredibus et assignatis suis, de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum per servicia

Italy; but eventually returned to his own country, and died in 1397. It seems to me far more likely that this Richard, who was living and of full age in 1442, should have been the son of John Duke of Bedford who was born in 1390, than of Ingelram de Coucy, who does not, I believe, appear to have been in England after 1369, which was 73 years before the date of the conveyance to Coburley and Burghille. The fact of John Duke of Bedford not having married till 1423, when he was 33 years of age, makes the supposition of an illicit connexion of which Richard may have been the issue by no means improbable. So much reason is there, in my opinion, for adopting this view of the name, Richard Bastard of Bedford, that, had the deed exhibited been in other respects of an ordinary kind, I should have thought the occurrence of this name in it rendered it worthy of being brought to the notice of the Society, as a contribution to the genealogy of the House of Lancaster.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. J. J. Howard for all the information that I have derived from the archives of the Armourers' Company, especially for the opportunity of inspecting the various deeds to which I have referred. The inrolment of the charter of the guild in the original language I examined at the Record Office.

inde debita et de jure consueta, imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigilla nostra apposuimus. Hiis testibus, Thoma Basset gentilman, Roberto Buri, Johanne Rouchestre seniore, Johanne Rouchestre juniore, Johanne Spurne, et aliis. Datum apud Terlyng predict' vicesimo die Junii anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum Anglie vicesimo." Two small seals on labels are appended; of the first a woodcut is given in the text; the device on the second appears to be a wolf's head erased, without any legend. The former from the legend, Debines, should seem to have been intended as an enigma, and from the singularity of the object represented I apprehend it is likely to remain unsolved.

The conveyance to Acreman is also in the possession of the Armourers' Company. It is dated the 12th of March, 24 Henry VI. (1446), and by it Coburley and Burghille granted to Acreman, his heirs and assigns, the advowson only. There are no witnesses. Two small seals are appended; one has on it a bird with the legend, Thomas Coburley; the other a hedge-hog with a legend obscure. The parties to the deed are the only persons mentioned in it, and no place of residence is subjoined to any of the names.

In addition to what has been said of the seal of Acreman appended to the deed exhibited, I may here mention, that the words of the legend are separated by sprigs of oak, as if he supposed the first syllable of the name to have been derived from Ac or Ake (oak) instead of Acre; and that round the impression are the marks of a plaited rush by which it was formerly protected from injury; a practice occasionally found exemplified in seals of that period.

XI.—*Observations on the Ancient Domestic Architecture of Ireland: in a Letter addressed to the* Earl Stanhope, *President, by* John Henry Parker, *Esq. F.S.A.*

Read March 10th, 1859.

My Lord,

Perhaps no country in the world possesses so complete a series, as Ireland, of Domestic Architecture, in the full meaning of the words, that is, of human habitations; it begins with the underground abodes and the beehive houses of the earliest inhabitants of the island (belonging to the same period as the Cromlechs and Cairns), and is continued almost without interruption to our own day. But, before any attempt is made to describe or to classify the existing remains of human dwellings in Ireland, it is necessary to call attention particularly to the geological formation of the country. The nature of the building materials, as is well known, exercises great influence everywhere upon the architectural character, but nowhere else is this so evident and distinct as in Ireland. With a few rare exceptions, such as unfortunately are Dublin and Belfast, and their immediate neighbourhoods, stone is every where abundant, and generally of the same quality, extremely hard and durable, but very difficult to cut or work in any way. A very large part of Ireland is an immense limestone plain, covered indeed in many places with extensive peat-bogs, but these are seldom very deep; in general the stone is very near the surface, and in many places it crops out. This limestone when broken up, and especially when burnt into lime and mixed with the peat, makes a very fertile soil. In many districts, especially in Galway, the surface is so much covered with loose stones of large size, that they have to be removed before the soil can be cultivated. These stones are generally of such a size and form as to be convenient for building purposes in their rough state, so that there is no need to cut them; but when there is occasion for this, it is a very difficult and tedious, and therefore expensive, operation. In some parts of the country, as in the valley of Glendalough, stone is found in very large masses, which can be split horizontally into slabs without

much difficulty, but it is extremely hard, and difficult to cut against the grain. It will readily be seen, from this short description of the building materials, that they must necessarily exercise great influence on the character of the buildings, more especially in early times, before the use of machinery, and when the tools were very inefficient.

In the districts where stone is found in large masses, so that abundance of slabs may be obtained of ten or twelve feet long, or even more, by one or two feet thick, and varying in width from one foot to three or four, it is perfectly natural that the buildings should have been erected of what is called Cyclopean masonry; for such masses were easily ranged in walls, and required no mortar. As it was difficult to obtain cut stone for the quoins or corners, it was more convenient to build a tower round than square; just as in Norfolk, Suffolk, and other chalk countries—where the usual building material was flint, and there was a scarcity of stone for corners—the towers were also built round. The great abundance of stone has also had another remarkable effect in Ireland, or at least in many parts of it; for, stone fit for ordinary building purposes being found everywhere on the surface of the ground, and having only to be collected and used as wanted, it does not pay to pull down old walls for the materials, as is done in other countries; and when stone is to be had upon the spot people will not carry it half a mile. But, as wood was not equally abundant and was useful for fuel, every scrap of wood or thatch has commonly been burnt, and nothing but the stone walls left standing. The consequence of this is, that the surface of Ireland is covered with ruins of old buildings of all ages, from the cairns to the cabins deserted fifty years ago or only yesterday. Hundreds of cabins, abandoned in consequence of the great famine, are standing just as they were left, so far at least as regards the stone walls and chimneys; the wood and thatch have all been burnt, but it has not been worth any one's while to pull down the bare walls. This circumstance gives Ireland a very desolate appearance to strangers, but it is not in reality a proof of extreme poverty, as is often at first sight supposed.

The nature of the material also influenced the fashion and the details of the buildings in many other ways. The primitive houses were vaulted with a sort of rude dome formed by the overlapping of the ends of large stones, as in the Pyramids of Egypt; and the fashion of vaulting with rough stones, though gradually becoming less rude, was continued to a late period. The houses popularly attributed to the saints of the fifth and sixth centuries have vaults of a more advanced construction, and bearing considerable resemblance to those of the Pembroke-

shire churches; but it is worthy of remark that in Ireland the churches are not generally vaulted, while the houses are. In those early examples, such as St. Kevin's in Glendalough and St. Columbkill's at Kells, the vault is at a considerable elevation from the ground, and had wooden floors under it, as in the castles or towers of the twelfth century and later.

The peculiar form of doorway with sloping sides and a flat lintel, which is quite an Irish fashion, seems also to have originated in the nature of the material. A similar form of doorway occurs in the Egyptian Pyramids, and in some other oriental buildings, and this may by some persons be considered as an evidence of the oriental origin of the Irish people; but that is not to our present purpose. In Ireland it is found in the cairns, as at New Grange, and in the Hill of Dowth, and is there formed simply of three long stones, not cut, but selected for the purpose, and the top inclined inwards in order to fit the lintel-stone more conveniently, and give it a longer bearing on the side stones. This is the case also at St. Kevin's house in Glendalough, which is of Cyclopean masonry. The

ENTRANCE TO CHAMBER, HILL OF DOWTH.

DOORWAY OF ROUND TOWER, CLONDALKIN.

same form was copied afterwards in cut stone, as in the round towers at Kells and Clondalkin; and it became a regular Irish fashion, continued both in doorways and windows when convenient at all periods down to the time of Elizabeth. It occurs in the tower-houses throughout the Middle Ages, and in Elizabethan work of dated houses at Galway.

The triangular-headed window is another feature which evidently has its origin in the material, and, although found in early work, is not confined to any period;

it is one of the Irish fashions which may be traced from the earliest to the latest times, and, like the doorways before mentioned, is in itself no evidence of date; it occurs in many of the small churches, which, from their extreme plainness, may be of any period, as well as in houses and castles. A window with sloping sides and a round head, cut out of a single stone, is also of frequent occurrence, as at Ross, co. Galway. The very great thickness of the walls, in many instances, may also be attributed to the nature and the abundance of the material; and this rendered buttresses altogether unnecessary.

EAST WINDOW OF CHURCH, ROSS, CO. GALWAY.

The peculiar tongue-shaped corbel, which is another Irish fashion throughout the Middle Ages, may perhaps also have been originally due to the material; it required less cutting, and the stone could be more easily trimmed into that form of corbel than any other.

Another point which must be considered in treating of houses in Ireland is the character of the people from the earliest period of history: they were pre-eminently a belligerent people, always fighting among themselves if not with their invaders. Accordingly, we find from primitive times that the idea of defence seems to have been always uppermost in the mind of an Irishman when building his house; the first thing to be considered was, how best to keep out an enemy. In the subterranean abodes and the bee-hive houses the entrance is so small and low that a man can only get in by crawling on his hands and

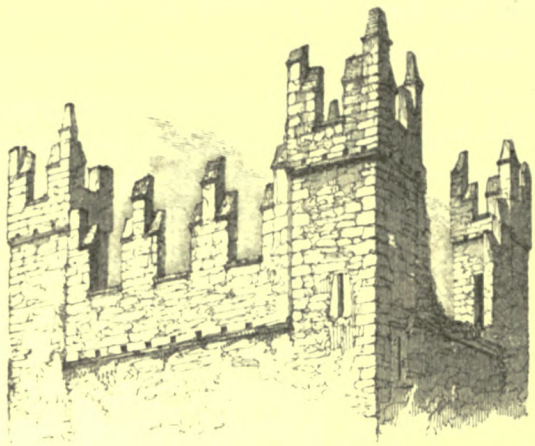
knees, and would therefore be entirely at the mercy of any one within.[a] This is the case as well in the temples and tombs, as in the magnificent tumulus or cairn at New Grange, where the interior is richly ornamented with incised patterns; in the Hill of Dowth in the same immediate neighbourhood; in the subterranean habitation near Athenry; and I believe in all the early structures, whether intended merely for dwellings or for any other purpose.

Throughout the Middle Ages every house of any importance was a castle, that is to say, it was built in the form of a tower and fortified; but it was not the less a dwelling-house, since every manor-house throughout the country was built after the same fashion, and there were no other houses of any considerable size.

In consequence of the influence of these two great causes, the material and the character of the people, the architecture of Ireland has a very marked national character, different from that of any other people, yet bearing a certain resemblance in some points to that of Scotland, Wales, and Britany, though still distinct from all of them. Notwithstanding the strong national character, which no other country possesses in a more marked degree, though all countries and large provinces have to a certain extent a national or provincial peculiarity, the different styles of each century of the Middle Ages can be distinguished in Ireland as well as in other countries of Europe, though it is often difficult to make them out, in consequence of the extreme plainness and rudeness of the work. The square towers, which were the usual habitations of the gentry in Ireland throughout the Middle Ages, whether English or Irish, are generally so very plain, especially on the exterior, that on a mere cursory observation they are commonly said to be all alike. This is, however, entirely a mistake; on examination no two of them are found exactly alike; the internal arrangements differ constantly; there is generally some little bit of ornament in cut stone somewhere, just enough to indicate the date; usually this is the tracery, or the arch in the head of the upper windows; but, besides this, the vault is sometimes over the ground floor, and sometimes nearly at the top of the tower, with wooden floors only under it; occasionally there are two vaults, or even three. In some instances the bed-rooms are numerous, occupying a third part of the tower, excepting at the top, where the state apartment usually occupies the whole space above the upper vault, having arrangements at one end for the servants, commonly near the top of the stairs, with recesses in the walls

[a] For an account of bee-hive houses in the county of Kerry, see Mr. Dunoyer's memoir, Archæological Journal, vol. xv. p. 1.

for various purposes, and almost invariably a drain for carrying off water which had been used. It frequently happens that a wall has been introduced at a period subsequent to the original erection of the tower, separating about a third part of it, evidently for bed-rooms. The battlements are frequently cut into corbie-steps, giving a ragged and picturesque appearance to the upper part of the towers; those at Jerpoint Abbey (see woodcut*) are good examples of this.



BATTLEMENTS, JERPOINT ABBEY.

But to have a clear understanding of the domestic architecture of Ireland during the middle ages, it is necessary to include the religious houses, and to take the whole in chronological order, bearing in mind that every house was fortified, not excepting even the abbeys, which were as effectually protected as any houses or castles of the same period. By endeavouring to arrange a chronological series, and by offering a few specimens of each period, I hope to give a clearer idea of the whole than has hitherto been published.

Passing over the bee-hive houses of Kerry, the subterranean abodes, tombs, or treasuries, and the circular forts with low walls round them, as at Athenry, (more properly Athenree, the city of the Kings,) which belong to a primitive period too remote for our purpose,—and, though some of them were probably dwellings, they can hardly be called houses,—the earliest habitations, which come within our province, are the houses known by tradition as the houses of the saints; some of which may possibly be of the period to which they are assigned. One of the best authenticated of these, and the one where the building itself

* [The Society are indebted to Mr. Parker for the use of this woodcut.]

shows the best confirmatory evidence, is that popularly known by the name of St. Kevin's Kitchen, in the valley of Glendalough. The name is easily accounted for by its present appearance; but it is, in fact, a house of a very early period converted into a chapel in the twelfth century. It is recorded that a monastic establishment was planted in the valley by St. Kevin in the early part of the sixth century; and Irish antiquaries usually assign this house to that period. It may reasonably be doubted whether the Irish people were acquainted with the art of building with cut stone and mortar at that time, since Bede expressly tells us that, when the Romans left Britain, they advised the people to build a wall across the northern portion of the island, which was done, but they were obliged to make it of earth and sods only, because they had no artists capable of building it of stone; he also frequently mentions the manner of building of the Scots, as of wood, thatch, and wattles, or wicker-work only. There is no reason to suppose that the Irish were in advance of the Britons, and they were included under the general name of Scots. They may have piled up the rough stones which they found on the surface in various forms; but the arts of cutting stone, of burning it into lime, and of making mortar, imply a considerable progress in civilization. We may, however, conclude that the house called St. Kevin's Kitchen is one of the earliest buildings in Ireland, and belongs to a period anterior to the twelfth century, because it was altered into a chapel at that time. The original structure was a small oblong room of Cyclopean masonry, on which are a lofty and massive stone roof and vault;[a] at the springing of this is a ledge, which seems to indicate the position of a wooden floor, so that there was an upper room under the vault, as in the towers of later date; and there is a small window in the east gable, to give light and air to this upper chamber. The head of the window of the lower room still remains; it is cut out of a single stone, and widely splayed within; the lower part of it was removed, when a round-headed chancel-arch was cut through the wall; and it seems pretty clear that this must have been done in the twelfth century, when a chancel, since destroyed, was added, and a vestry, which still remains, clumsily joined to the south-east corner of the original building: this vestry has a window of the usual character of the

[a] There appears strong reason to believe that the vault and stone roof are part of the alteration in the twelfth century, and the ledge may arise from the greater thickness of the earlier walls, which had originally the floors and roof of wood. The construction of the base of the round tower in the west gable shows that the vault and roof were built with it, and added upon the walls of Cyclopean masonry; all the upper part is of small stones. There is a space between the top of the vault and the ridge of the roof, but hardly sufficient to have been used for any purpose, and there was apparently no access to it.

twelfth century, and the head of an earlier window, cut out of one stone, is used as old material in the rubble wall. The original building has a west doorway of the early Irish form, with a round arch above the lintel, leaving a small plain tympanum.[a] The upper part of the west gable has been cut off, and a round belfry-turret built upon it, resting partly on the wall and partly on the stone vault, as is the case in some of the Pembrokeshire churches, which bear considerable resemblance to this building. Similar massive stone vaults are common in the Channel Islands, and in Aquitaine and the Pyrenees, and also, probably, in most places where similar materials are found. The detached round tower is exactly of the same construction, and apparently of the same age, as the round belfry turret; they are within sight of each other, and may be easily compared on the spot. The detached tower belongs to the cathedral which forms one of the Seven Churches; it has Cyclopean masonry in the lower part

DOORWAY, SEVEN CHURCHES, CO. WICKLOW.

of the walls, and small openings, like the round tower, in the upper part; a south doorway and east window have mouldings of the twelfth century; but these are of a different stone (said to be from Caen), and may be insertions. The round tower is 120 feet high, divided into six stories; it has a round-headed

[a] It seems probable that this arch and tympanum belong to the work of the twelfth century; the lower parts of the walls are Cyclopean, but this arch is of small stones.

doorway, and there are small square-headed windows on each story, and four apertures for bells at the top, exactly like the turret of St. Kevin's, only considerably larger: it has lost the roof.

The house which comes the nearest to this in apparent antiquity, is ST. COLUMB-KILL'S HOUSE, or rather St. Colomb's Cell, at Kells, co. Meath. This is another small oblong house, with very thick walls of rough stone, of various sizes and shapes, merely split, not cut. Some of the stones are three or four feet long, others smaller, all deeply bedded in mortar, with very wide joints. It has a stone roof, and a vault under it, with a space between the top of the vault and the outer roof, which is divided by two cross walls into three cells, with round-headed doorways from one to the other. These cells do not appear to have been large enough for habitation, and the only entrance to them was through a small square hole in the wall, more like a chimney-shaft than anything else. The original entrance to the house was of the early Irish form called Cyclopean at the west end, which is now walled up, and another cut through the wall on the south side; there is a fireplace in the south wall; the windows are small, with triangular heads; their position and other indications show that there was a wooden floor under the vault; there have indeed been two floors, but whether both were original may be doubtful; the exterior is so much hid by ivy that the position of the windows cannot be seen. The round tower near this house looks old, but not so early as the house; the doorway and window-frames are of cut stone; the doorway-frame has a broad flat projection, and what appear to have been two heads standing out from the face of it. The stone here is not so hard as in other places, and is a good deal weather-worn; the masonry of the tower is rubble.

The next building of importance in the order of time is the CHAPEL OF CORMAC MACCARTHY, King of Munster, on the Rock of Cashel, which has been clearly shown by Dr. Petrie in his learned and valuable work on the Round Towers of Ireland, pp. 285, 286, to have been consecrated A.D. 1134, with great pomp, as recorded in the Irish annals. Dr. Petrie has quoted passages from, and given references to, several distinct authorities, all bearing testimony to the same point. This chapel is a small oblong building, with a chancel not quite so wide as the nave; it is vaulted, and ornamented in the richest style of Norman sculpture both within and without; it is said, probably with reason, to be the most richly ornamented building of its kind in Ireland. On each side, and at the junction of the nave and chancel, is a tall square tower, and at a short distance from it a round belfry-tower about the same height as the square towers, and

apparently part of the same work. The whole is built of a soft sandstone, brought from a place about seven miles distant, and all of squared stones. The round tower is precisely of the same material and apparently the same work as the rest, excepting that it has two or three layers of the hard stone of the country, as if the supply of soft stone had run short.

In the roof of the chapel above the vault are small cells, or chambers, with a fireplace and other conveniences for habitation. These apartments are not on the same level; the one over the nave is about six feet higher than the one over the chancel, with a doorway and steps from one to the other; each apartment is lighted by two small windows, square-headed and widely splayed; the fireplace is at the west end, with a chimney in the thickness of the wall, and hot-air flues from it extending along the side-walls nearly level with the floor. This arrangement is believed to be perfectly unique at that period, and shows more attention to comfort than was then usual. The outer roof is formed of sandstone, but lined with tufa for the sake both of lightness and dryness. There are the corbels of a wooden floor, showing that there was an upper chamber, which was lighted by a small square window in the east gable. The carving of the capitals, mouldings, ribs, bases, and doorways, and the sculptures in the tympanum, are equal to anything in England or Normandy of the same period. Similar sculptured capitals and bases occur in the Church of the Nuns in the valley of Glendalough, also of soft stone, brought from some distance. The tomb of the founder, which has been removed from the arched recess on the outside of the chapel near the rich north doorway, is ornamented with the interlaced work popularly called Runic, but which has, I think, been clearly shown to be an Irish fashion originating in the imitation of wicker-work. Similar work and the same style of carving occur on the crosses at Kells.

The cathedral and castle of Cashel, which join to and partly inclose Cormac's chapel, are chiefly of the thirteenth century; the lower part of the castle, which forms the west end of the cathedral, and the lower part of the south transept, are of the end of the twelfth. In the roof of the cathedral over the vault is a series of chambers connected with the castle, and, in fact, forming part of it. The tower and parapets of the cathedral are all fortified, just in the same manner as the castle itself. In these apartments are some fine fireplaces; one in particular is a beautiful piece of construction of the kind called joggling, with a singular side-corbel to resist the thrust of the flat arch; there are also several garderobes, and other usual marks of habitation.

The next building of this class is known by the name of St. Doulough's

Church, and is situated about four miles north of Dublin. It is a very curious mixture of the castle, dwelling-house, and chapel or church, which last, in fact, forms a comparatively small part of the building. The date is probably the latter part of the thirteenth century, or the beginning of the fourteenth. In plan it is oblong, with a large square central tower, which has regular battlements of the usual Irish type in corbie-steps, evidently intended for use and not for ornament; the windows are small loops square-topped, just the same as those of the ordinary tower-houses. The chapel forms the eastern limb of the ground floor of the building; it has an east window of two lights, with mouldings of the fourteenth century; on the north side are single lancet-windows, on the south they are of two lights of the same style as the east window. It has a stone vault with habitable chambers above it in the roof, which is of ashlar masonry, and is remarkably high-pitched, reaching nearly to the top of the tower. There are other dwelling-rooms in the western division and in the tower; at the west end there are six small windows, one over the other, indicating that this portion of the building was divided into that number of small low rooms. The doorway is in a sort of shallow porch under a stair-turret projecting from the north-west corner of the tower, but extending only up to the second story; in this turret are several small windows, of single lights, trefoil-headed. The staircase is connected with the tower by a passage corbelled out in a singular manner, and has loopholes in the upper part; there are fireplaces and other marks of habitation in the chambers. The whole dimensions of this very singular building are only forty feet long by sixteen wide, external measure. It is remarkably lofty in proportion to its size. Near the church is the well-room, a curious small octagonal building with a dome-shaped vault, from which project four pointed dormers with stone roofs, and each with a small lancet-window, the head triangular, and under each window is a large cruciform loophole, excepting on one side, where there is a door. The whole structure appears to be of the thirteenth century. Adjoining to this is a small oblong chamber or bath-room called "St. Catharine's Pond," which has a pointed barrel-vault and a doorway, evidently of the thirteenth century also.

All the abbeys were fortified, and it was a general custom to have dwelling-rooms in the roofs of the churches above the vaults, but they hardly come within the description of domestic buildings, otherwise many of them might be described as partaking of that character. Bective Abbey is strongly fortified, and the original part is of the twelfth century. Holy Cross Abbey, near Thurles, co. Tipperary, has the ruins of a nave of the twelfth, but the greater part, including the beautiful

chancel and transept, with the chambers over them, are of the fourteenth. Ross Abbey, near Headfort, co. Galway, has the cloister perfect; and a great part of the domestic buildings, with the kitchen and offices of the fifteenth century, may be made out, though in a ruinous state. The Abbot's house has suffered less. It is a small house of three stories, joining to the north-east corner of the chancel; it has fireplaces in the upper rooms, and an oven in the lower one: it is of the sixteenth century, rather later than the rest of the buildings, which are of the fifteenth. In the kitchen is a curious round reservoir of stone for keeping fish alive, with a stone pipe leading into it from the river. The chapter-house is tolerably perfect, and has in one corner a curious sort of bay window, popularly called a confessional, and having more of that appearance than usual. Here, as in most of the abbey churches in Ireland, a tall square tower of small dimensions has been built in the fifteenth century between the nave and chancel. Such towers are generally introduced within the walls of an earlier building, and the fashion spread so rapidly and so widely, that they were probably considered a necessary part of an improved mode of fortification. They usually have habitable rooms in them. Towers of this description remain at Hoare Abbey, near Cashel, and Kilmallock Abbey, co. Tipperary, Clare-Galway Abbey, co. Galway, Trim Abbey, and Swords, co. Meath, and many others. These square towers appear to have taken the place of the round towers as belfries for the churches, when the art of cutting stone had become more common. They are equally tall, and often nearly as slender, the size of the tower being remarkably small in proportion to the height. A few of them are probably of the fourteenth century, as at Drogheda, but the greater part are of the fifteenth. On the other hand the round towers are rarely later than the thirteenth, though some have had the upper story added or rebuilt in the fifteenth.

We come now to the Castles and Towers, which were the only dwelling-houses of the nobility and gentry of Ireland until the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Before that time it was not safe to live in a house that was not strongly fortified. The larger castles, such as Maynooth and Trim, on the borders of the English pale, were more properly military fortresses than domestic habitations; still they were the chief residences of great families. MAYNOOTH, for instance, was the seat of the family of Fitzgerald, afterwards the Earls of Kildare, and originally built, or rather commenced, in 1176, by Maurice Fitzgerald, who had obtained a grant of the manor from Strongbow in that year; it was afterwards enlarged at various times, and was always a large and important castle. The additions

have almost entirely disappeared; but the original Norman work, from its massive character, was not easily destroyed, and a great part of it still remains; the walls of the keep are perfect, and are eight feet thick; the ground floor is divided by a wall into two large vaulted chambers, with the entrances at one corner. The first floor is also divided into two large rooms, which have been the chief apartments, and are very fine lofty rooms, with others smaller and lower over them, and small chambers in the side-walls, eight feet six inches long, by four feet ten inches wide. The principal entrance was on the first floor from outworks now destroyed. There are also a gatehouse of the twelfth century tolerably perfect, and a large corner tower of the thirteenth; these have been connected by a range of buildings now destroyed. At the back of the corner tower are remains of another range of buildings, with three large round arches of wide span, which probably carried the vaults of this wing of the castle; but, being now left standing alone, they have a singular effect. Another oblong tower of the fifteenth century, now used as a belfry to the chapel, was also part of the castle, and serves to show its great extent. The doorway to the corner tower of the thirteenth century is built after the usual Irish fashion, wider at the bottom than at the top, with sloping sides, and a flat lintel. Much credit is due to the Duke of Leinster for the care which is now taken of these ruins.

That even this great castle, one of the largest and strongest in Ireland, was not merely a military fortress, but also the usual habitation of a great family, there is abundant evidence, into which it is not necessary to enter in detail; a reference to the amusing account of the siege in the time of Henry VIII., given by Holinshed in his Chronicle, will suffice.[a]

Trim Castle is chiefly of the twelfth century, and the keep is on a very singular plan, which may be called cruciform. There is a square central tower of considerable size, measuring sixty-four feet on each side and sixty feet in height, with a smaller square tower attached to the centre of each side, and a turret on each angle of the main building, sixteen feet high above the top of it. This large building is divided into two parts by a wall down the middle of it; there have

[a] "Great and rich was the spoile, such store of beddes, so many goodly hangings, so rich a wardrob, such braue furniture, as truly it was accompted for housholde stuffe and vtensiles one of the richest earle his houses vnder the Crowne of Englande." The account of the siege, sent to the King by the Lord Deputy, Sir William Skeffington, confirms this. It appears that the garrison consisted of little more than 100 able men. "Ther was within the same above 100 habill men, wherof were above 60 gunners." Of this garrison, 60 were killed in the assault, and 37 taken prisoners; and 26 of them were executed two days afterwards, after being tried by a court martial.—State Papers of Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 236.

been vaults over each story of the main building, but in the side towers only over the ground-floor room and near the top, with three stories between these two vaults, and one low story above the upper vault. The chief apartment or hall was on the first floor, and the kitchen by the side of it, on the same level; the fireplace remains, and several recesses in the walls for cupboards. The walls are not less than thirteen feet thick; there are not so many passages in them as usual, but several garderobes; the windows are small and square-headed. There is a large bailey, inclosed by a curtain wall, with ten round towers in the enceinte, all low and uniform; one larger than the rest is the gatehouse, and has the barbican nearly perfect. This gatehouse is later work than the rest, probably of the thirteenth century; the windows are larger; it has a fireplace and a garderobe on each floor. There is also a smaller back gatehouse less perfect. This castle was built by Walter de Lacy in the time of Henry II. It is said, in the Chronicles of Ireland, to have been destroyed by Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, in 1220, and rebuilt the same year; but this could only mean that it was taken and dismantled, and was restored to a state of defence, probably stronger than before, by the addition of the new gatehouse. Such a mass of building once erected could not easily be destroyed, and certainly could not be rebuilt in a year. The same remark will apply to many other Norman castles and churches. The chroniclers always magnified the doings of their own days, and often described a building as "re-edified," which, on examination, we find to have been only repaired and restored to use.

The small decayed town of DALKEY was the chief harbour of Dublin throughout the middle ages, and down to a comparatively late period, until superseded by its more flourishing neighbour, now called Kingstown. It contains two of the small square castles, or tower-houses, and the ruins of a small church, of the twelfth century, and at a short distance from it is a more important house or castle, called Bullock Castle. The two towers appear to be of the twelfth century, but may possibly be later; they are very plain, with small windows, some round-headed, others square. The parapet of one is plain and solid, with a row of holes under it to let off the water, a general fashion in Ireland, sometimes with watershoots and sometimes not. This tower has a square stair-turret corbelled out at the south-west corner, a half octagon garderobe turret, also corbelled out, on the north side, and a chimney and a small bartizan projecting from the parapet. Is still inhabited; the ground-floor is vaulted, above which are two stories with wooden floors. The second tower is very

similar to the first, but later; it has a bartizan and a battlement in corbie-steps, the usual Irish battlement down to the sixteenth century, but not so early as the twelfth, when there was generally a plain solid parapet. Within it has a barrel-vault, and the putlog holes for a floor; the staircase is carried up obliquely in the thickness of the wall, but leads up above the vault into an octagonal turret; there are a fireplace and a garderobe to the dwelling-chamber.

Bullock Castle is a house of the twelfth century fortified in the usual manner. The plan is a simple oblong divided by a cross wall into two unequal portions, the lower story vaulted throughout. Above, in the larger division, are two principal rooms, one over the other; the windows small, round-headed, and widely splayed; some of the doorways are round-headed, others pointed; there is a fireplace in each of these rooms, and a garderobe in a turret at one corner, a small closet in another, with the staircase between. The smaller division of the house is divided into three stories above the vault, probably for bed-rooms, without fireplaces; the windows are square-headed, but splayed like the others. The ground-floor rooms under the vault were probably store-rooms; an archway passes through under one part of the house, as if for a communication from one courtyard to the other. At the top the two ends of the building are higher than the centre, forming a sort of towers, but all part of one design and built together, and there are battlements of the usual Irish form in steps. This plan of having the two ends higher than the centre is common in the Irish towers. The work is all plain and rude. There are remains of the outer wall inclosing a large bawn or bailey (*ballium*), and one of the corner towers remains. It is difficult to judge of the age of this sort of plain rude rough work: in England it would be twelfth-century without a doubt, but in Ireland it may be often much later: there are, however, generally, some indications of later work; and, where the windows and doors are round-headed, and there is little cut stone, it is probably of the twelfth century.

Loughmore Castle, co. Tipperary, consists of two parts. The greater portion is an Elizabethan mansion of the Purcells, but this has been added to an early keep of the beginning of the thirteenth century. The plan is oblong; the ground-floor is vaulted with a plain brick vault, and there is another vault near the top of the tower under the chief apartment, with wooden floors under it; there were altogether five stories; the windows are round-headed, but the doorways are pointed. The principal chamber at the top was a fine room, 36 feet 6 inches by 28 feet 6 inches internal measure, and lofty in proportion. The corbels of the timber roof and the weather moulding remain: over the roof there was a parapet

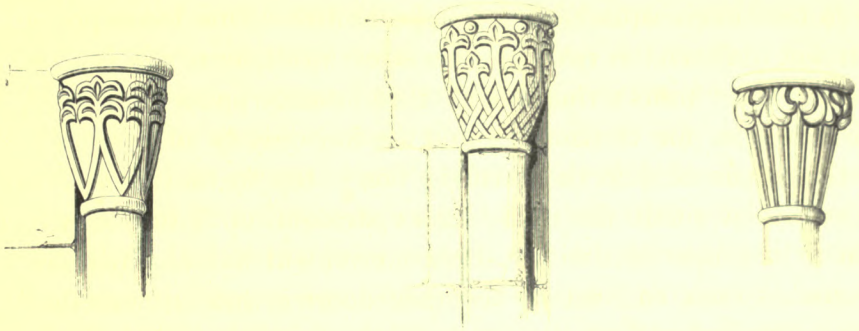
on each side, and a covered passage or guard chamber at each end, with watch-towers at the corners. This tower is very substantially and well built of cut stone.

The Castle of Cashel is a large square tower forming the west end of the cathedral, and was begun in the twelfth century; the ground-floor and buttresses are of that period, but the greater part was built in the thirteenth, and the upper story partly rebuilt in the fifteenth. The internal arrangements are the same as in the other tower houses, with the usual vaults; there is a fine doorway of the thirteenth century from the cathedral into it. The outer doorway affords a good example of one of the modes of defending an Irish house. The door opens as usual into a small square space, forming a sort of inner porch, with three doorways besides the entrance; one straight forward into the lower vaulted chamber, one on the right hand to a small guard chamber or porter's lodge, the other on the left to the staircase: all the doors were securely barred, and to the outer door in the later castles there was a portcullis. This inner porch is usually about eight feet high, and is covered by a stone vault, in which is a small square opening called the "murthering hole," that usually opens into a small guard-chamber, in which a pile of stones would be kept ready in case of need. But at Cashel this mode of defence is carried one step further; the "murthering hole" opens into a small flue which goes straight up into the principal fire-place, close to the side of the fire, very convenient for pouring down boiling water, hot sand, or molten lead. The other doorway has a "murthering hole" with a similar flue brought up also near to the fireplace. The chief apartment was on the first floor over the vault, but had other rooms above it. There is a curious secret passage in the wall leading from the chief apartment to the rooms over the vaults of the cathedral; the entrance to it is not more than two feet square, just above the staircase; as soon as the opening is passed the passage is of the usual height.

Ballincolig Castle, near Cork, appears to be of the thirteenth century. It consists of a very tall square tower on the summit of a rock, with considerable remains of the wall of enceinte, which has bastions and other buildings attached to it, inclosing the bailey. The ground room is vaulted and had no entrance, excepting by a trap door from above, so that it was probably the prison. The room on the first floor is also vaulted; the space within the walls is only ten feet by eight; the entrance was into this room with a sloping road up to it, carried on arches. The windows are all small single lights, mostly with pointed heads, some square-headed; one has a trefoil head with various rude incised

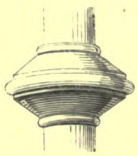
ornaments on the surface over it, apparently a stone taken from some ancient building and used again. The second story is also vaulted, and has seats in the jambs of the windows, a drain from a lavatory, and a small square cupboard in the wall over it. The upper room or chief chamber has windows on all the four sides, with a stone socket for the iron rod of the casement to work upon. There is no fireplace in the whole tower, which was probably more of a keep for the last defence than a usual habitation; it has no bartizans or projections of any kind. The bastion towers in the wall of enceinte seem to be of the fifteenth century; the wall itself is very thick, and has loop-holes; on one side there are windows of two lights, as if of a hall, and there are a fireplace and chimney; this is part of the work of the fifteenth century, and seems to show that the buildings in the courtyard were inhabited at that time.

ATHENRY CASTLE, co. Galway, is a fine example of a fortified house or tower of

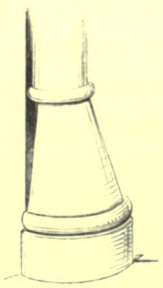


CAPITALS OF WINDOW SHAFTS, ATHENRY CASTLE.

the thirteenth century (see Plate VI.); the plan is oblong, and the ground-floor is divided into two parts by a row of arches down the middle, with two vaults, plain



ORNAMENTAL BAND ON WINDOW SHAFT, ATHENRY CASTLE.



BASE OF WINDOW SHAFT, ATHENRY CASTLE.

and massive. The chief apartment is on the first floor, upon those vaults, and had another vault over it; there are windows on three sides, and a fireplace (now broken away) at one end; the doorway is at one corner, leading to a bridge and barbican; the windows are of very good work of the thirteenth century, with moulded arches, banded shafts, and capitals having foliage of the Irish character (see woodcuts), though still distinctly in the style of the thirteenth century; they have seats in the jambs. The room above this was plain, and has no windows, but it has a passage in the thickness of the wall, with narrow slits for loopholes, as if it had been for defence only. The walls of the inner bailey remain, with two entrances, but in a ruinous state; the walls of the town appear to have served for a sort of outer bailey.

Borris Castle, near Thurles, co. Tipperary, is probably of the fourteenth century. It is quite plain and massive. There is only one vault, which is high up, having had three stories with wooden floors under it; the doorways are all pointed; the windows mere loops, square-headed, splayed within, and having a wide chamfer on the exterior. Above the vault is the chief apartment, which has windows of two lights with ogee heads; they are long and narrow, and have rebates for the casements and holes for the bolts. One window only is cusped, and has a sort of perpendicular paneling on the outside; this is clearly of the fifteenth century, but seems rather later than the rest. This apartment is 27 feet long and 18 wide, and was lofty in proportion, with a timber roof, which had battlements on each side, passages at each end across the gable, and a watch-tower or bartizan at each corner, corbelled out on the tongue-shaped corbels which form one of the usual Irish fashions; the interstices between the corbels are machicoulis; these bartizans are half rounds clasping the angle of the tower, another Irish fashion. The staircase to the watch-tower is very ingeniously contrived for making the most of a small space; it is straight, and being only two feet wide, and also limited in space lengthwise, the steps, which are made triangular, like those of a winding staircase, are ten inches high, and placed with the broad end alternately right and left; by this means the ascent is double the usual height in the same space, without inconvenience. The lower part of the walls of the tower batters considerably, which is another feature of common occurrence in these Irish towers. The external measurement of this castle at the base is 43 feet by 38.

The remains of Dowth Castle, co. Meath, seem to be of the fourteenth century; but very little exists, and that little is modernised.

Gralla Castle, near Thurles, co. Tipperary, is a square tower of the fifteenth

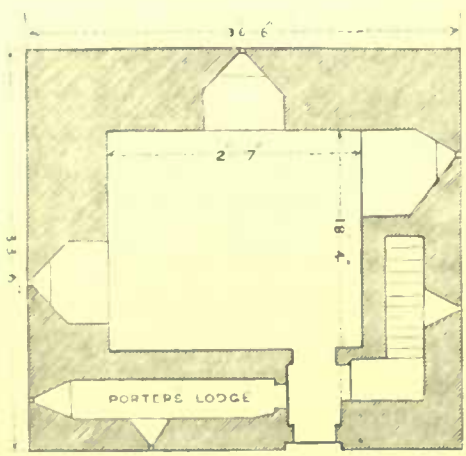
century, smaller and rather later than Borris Castle, but very similar to it in general appearance and arrangement. The entrance is into a small inner porch, with three doors, and the "murthering-hole" above, as before described. The ground-floor room is vaulted, and has no fireplace; there is a second vault above, with an intermediate floor. The chief apartment was at the top over the upper vault; it has windows of two lights of the fifteenth century, one cusped, the others with ogee heads. There are not the usual small rooms at the end of the hall on the same level, but above, at half the height of the hall, is a small chamber, probably a bed-room, with a fireplace in it; the mantelpiece of which is carried on corbels of the Irish tongue-shaped pattern. At the south end of the hall are three deep arched recesses, carrying the small chamber above. The hall or chief apartment measures 26 feet 6 inches by 21 feet 6 inches. On the east and west sides are several chimneys; one has lost the top, another has a conical head, with square openings all round under the coping for the smoke to escape. There is a curious arrangement for a garderobe in the thickness of the wall at the south end of the hall below the level, with a staircase, or rather a flight of steps, descending into it; there is also a garderobe and a fireplace on each of the middle floors. The walls are very thick, and batter considerably; the loopholes to the room on the ground-floor are rudely splayed on the outside.

Mycarkey Castle, near Thurles, is another square tower-house of the fifteenth century, very similar to those already described, but with the wall of enceinte remaining, and rather different in internal arrangement from the others The vault is near the middle of the elevation of the tower, with two floors under it, and two over it; the interior is also divided by a wall, parting off small bed-rooms without fireplaces; the larger rooms have fireplaces. The chief apartment, as usual, was at the top; but the one under it, on the vault, was of nearly equal importance, measuring twenty-two feet by seventeen. The wall of enceinte has an alure behind a parapet, with cruciform loopholes; at one corner of it is a round tower of two stories, with embrasures for falconets, or small cannon. The internal measurements of the bailey are 166 feet by 148.

Ballynahow Castle, near Thurles, is a round tower-house; in other respects much like the square towers in the same neighbourhood. The entrance is into a small inner porch, as usual; the ground room vaulted. On the first floor is a large fireplace, apparently for a kitchen; it has a flat joggled arch, and is ornamented with a sort of cable moulding. The rooms are square within, and the space between the flat wall and the round outer wall is used in different ways; on one side is a sort of cellar or pantry; on another a garderobe, with a cruci-

form loophole; a third side is occupied by the fireplace; the fourth appears to be solid; the windows are at three of the corners of the room; in the fourth is the doorway to the staircase; there are embrasures for falconets on this floor and below. Over the kitchen was another room with a wooden floor, and over that another vault, above which was the principal chamber, which is octagonal within, and has three windows of two lights with ogee heads; and in the recesses are embrasures on each side of the windows; a large square fireplace, chimney, and a garderobe. There are a parapet and alure round the top, and bartizans are thrown out on corbels, exactly like those at Borris Castle.

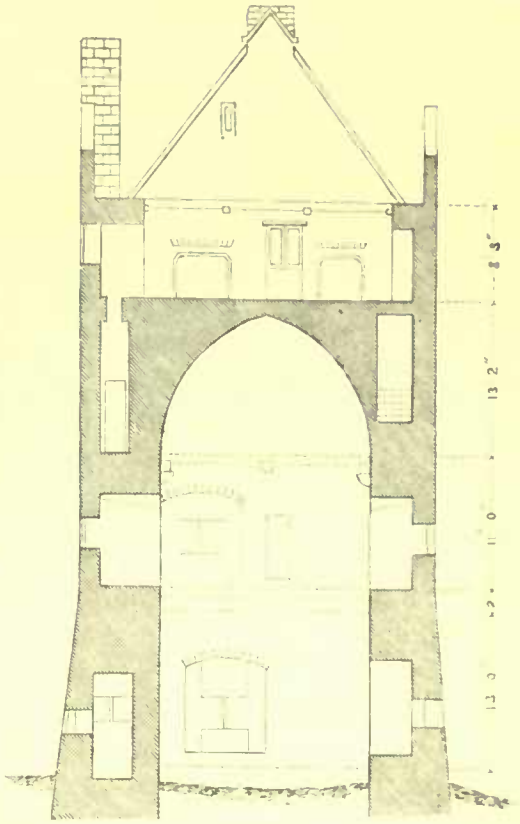
At Thurles there are three of the tower-houses of the fifteenth century: one near the bridge seems to have been a gatehouse, as the springing of an arch over the road remains against the side of the tower; it contains a vault, with floors above and below it, fireplaces, and garderobes on each floor, so that it was evidently intended for habitation. Another tower near the market-place is late in the fifteenth century, but rather a good example; it has two vaults—one over the ground floor, the other over the third floor, and over this the chief apartment, making five stories in all, with a fireplace in each, and a garderobe at the end of a passage in the wall, on each floor. In the upper chamber are five deep recesses, four of which have windows in them; the fifth seems to have been a lavatory, as there is a water-drain from it. The battlements are destroyed. Near this are the ruins of a round tower-house, and within a few years there were two other square towers near these; and the whole were connected by a wall of enceinte, inclosing a bailey of considerable size; of this wall there are some remains; probably the other towers were bastions in the outer wall. It must have been a castle of some importance.



GROUND PLAN, ANNADOWN CASTLE, CO. GALWAY.

Annadown Castle, co. Galway, appears to belong to the fifteenth century; it is situated on the shore of a little bay of Lough Corrib; the bay is about a bowshot across, and immediately opposite, close to the shore, are the ruins of the abbey and of the parish church of Annadown. The arrangements of this castle are shown by the accompanying ground-plan and section. The existence of

a castle at this spot seems to have sprung from the desire of the Archbishops of Tuam to suppress the bishopric of Annadown, which was several times extinguished and revived; and in 1252, Florence, Archbishop of Tuam, obtained from Henry III. a confirmation of a papal bull for the suppression of the see, on condition that a castle should be built on the church lands; the bishopric, however, continued, with short intervals, to exist; but in 1421 the last bishop who held the see was appointed, and it is to him that the erection of the present castle is probably due.[a]



SECTION, ANNADOWN CASTLE, CO. GALWAY.

KILMALLOCK is an interesting town to the antiquary, being full of ruins of old buildings, but the most important of these are ecclesiastical, and some others belong to the Elizabethan period. There are two gatehouses of the fifteenth century, but in a bad state, and not very remarkable; one of them is inhabited. In the principal street is a row of Elizabethan town houses of good character, worthy of the attention of architects for modern street-houses.

FANSTOWN CASTLE, near Kilmallock, is another tower-house of the fifteenth or early part of the sixteenth century, with two vaults and three stories over the upper one, six in all; with a fireplace and garderobe on each floor, and two fireplaces in the upper chamber. There are bartizans at two corners of the chief apartment over the vault, but not at the top of the tower; these are furnished with loopholes, and small round holes for muskets.

BALLYGRUFFAN CASTLE, near Bruff, consists of the ruins of a large fortified tower of the sixteenth century, with a square tower in the centre, which is more perfect than the rest. There are bartizans both to the tower and to the outer walls;

[a] I am indebted to G. M. Hills, Esq. Architect, for the drawings and description of this castle, which I was prevented from visiting personally.

with corbels in imitation of the earlier examples, and single-light windows, with sloping sides and trefoil-heads, but all evidently imitation work of the sixteenth century.

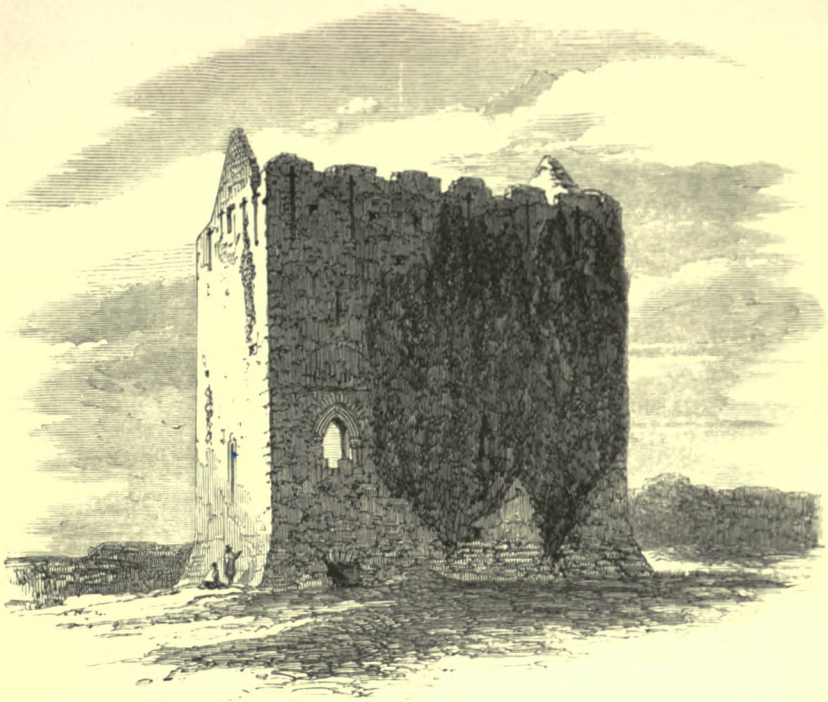
Bruff Castle is a mere ruin of a house of the fifteenth century, but the vaulted lower story remains, and in the wall of it is a doorway with sloping sides and a flat lintel, exactly like those in the round towers.

Blarney Castle, near Cork, consists of the ruins of two mansions, one a tower-house of the fifteenth century, the other Elizabethan added to the former. The walls of the earlier house are nearly perfect, with the battlements carried on corbels of the usual tongue-shape, the intervals between forming large machicoulis; the alure remains on the top of the wall behind them, and is covered with thin slabs formed into gutters. At one corner is a watch-turret, on the parapet of which is the celebrated "Blarney stone." At another corner, opposite the watch-turret, is a larger turret rising from the ground, at the top of which is the kitchen with the large fireplace and chimney; this turret has a separate battlement and machicoulis at a lower level than the great tower. In this turret there are two rooms under the kitchen, and a separate staircase for servants, and from the room under the kitchen there is a flight of steps leading to the principal apartment in the great tower. In this principal tower the vault is over the second story, and there has been another vault two stories higher, and a fifth story over the upper vault; in this room is a single-light window or loop, with sloping sides after the old fashion. The enceinte has a round tower belonging to the Elizabethan work of the sixteenth century. (See Plate VI.)

Carrigrohan Castle, near Cork, is an oblong tower-house of the sixteenth century much modernised, with bartizans at two of the corners, in which are small round holes for musketry, but carried on machicoulis. The face of the wall projects, and overhangs about six inches in each of the upper stories, perhaps for the purpose of throwing off the wet more effectually. There are remains of outworks and a curtain wall.

Dundrum Castle, in Blackrock, near Cork, is the ruin of a square tower-house of rich and massive work, so much covered with ivy that it is difficult to make out what it has been. It is three stories high, with fireplaces in the two upper ones and a staircase in the wall obliquely. There is a servants' room or turret joined to one side. The doorway and windows are square-headed. It is most probably of the fifteenth century.

Ballinagheah (or the Castle of Sheepstown), near Athenry, co. Galway, a tower-house of the fifteenth century, with alterations of the sixteenth. The



KEEP OF ATHENRY CASTLE, CO. GALWAY.

BLARNEY CASTLE CO. CORK.

vault is high up, over the third story, and there were two stories over it; a fireplace and garderobe in each story; one end of the tower is parted off by a wall, forming a sort of separate turret, divided by floors into bedrooms. The original windows are single lights, trefoil-headed, with interlaced ornaments in the spandrels; square windows are introduced in the upper stories. A bartizan at each of the four corners is corbelled out on the usual tongue-shaped corbels; there are two chimneys, one on each side. The alure is perfect, but the parapet nearly all gone. The staircase is good, of well-cut stone, with the angles rounded for a newel; in most of the Irish stair-turrets the angles at the end of the steps are left sharp, instead of the round newel usual in England. The lower part of the walls batters considerably. The principal doorway has sloping sides and a pointed arch. The hard limestone is here well worked. None of the building is earlier than the fifteenth century.

Aughnanure Castle, co. Galway, on the borders of Connemara, is a fine castle of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The central keep is nearly perfect; the outworks are in ruins; the work is very good, and there is ornamental carving in parts of it; one end has been rebuilt or altered in the sixteenth century; the earlier part is the best work. The state-room is at the top upon the vault, as usual, with windows of two lights trefoil-headed, splayed to a wide round-headed arch within; they have long and narrow lights divided by a transom, the lower part built up, and openings left for culverins. One square window is inserted; there is a large fireplace in the upper room. The garderobes are arranged in a turret within the walls; that is, they are placed one over the other, with a pit at the bottom open to the moat. There is a vaulted prison or dungeon with one small window and a square hole in the vault over it for a trapdoor, and no other entrance to it. One end of the tower is parted off and divided into small bedrooms. There are three stories under the upper vault: the entrance is into an inner porch of the usual Irish character. Two bartizans project from the first floor at the angles next the entrance, and there are portions of others from the battlements above, and the corbels remain in the centre of each face of the tower. Parts of the walls and turrets to both the outer and inner baileys exist, with a round tower in which are two domed vaults of the beehive construction, but evidently part of the work of the time of Henry VIII. A fine banqueting hall was built in the outer bailey at that period, one end wall of which only remains with the windows in it; they are tall and square-headed, with transoms and ogee heads to the lights, with dripstones over; the spandrels and the under sides of the dripstones enriched with carvings of late character

and shallow work, which may perhaps be Elizabethan. This castle is built over a cavern in the limestone rock; a small river runs under it, and partly round it, forming the moat.

Ballinduff Castle, co. Galway, is a plain square tower of the fifteenth century, very well built of cut stone, three stories high, the walls very thick, with two vaults. The ground-floor room seems to have been a dungeon, and the staircase which now leads from the trap-door is a later insertion. On the first floor the windows are very small, with large recesses within. The upper room has also small narrow lancet windows, one with an ogee head, another with the shouldered lintel; no fireplace or locker in the wall. The staircase from the first floor to the top is in the thickness of the wall, and very well built. The battlement is destroyed, but the alure remains, with the corbels of a bartizan projecting from it. On the first floor is a garderobe, quite perfect, with the passage to it round a corner. There is no original fireplace in any part of the building, which seems to have been a keep only; but there are ruins of a small low building attached to the east end, with a doorway into it, which is said to have been the kitchen of the castle, and this appears probable.

Clare-Galway Castle is another fine square tower-house of the end of the fifteenth century. The entrance doorway is large, and was protected by a portcullis, of which the groove only remains; it opens into one of the usual inner porches with three doorways and the "murthering hole" in the vault above; and over this is a small vaulted chamber for the windlass to the portcullis, and to contain a pile of stones for throwing down in case of need on the heads of assailants through the murthering hole. The ground-floor room has three windows, but no fireplace; the large room on the first floor has a fireplace, and a boarded floor, with passages in the thickness of the walls, in which are loopholes; one leads to a garderobe. Over this is another low room under the vault; another small vaulted chamber on this floor has a fireplace and a garderobe, and appears to have been a bed-room. The principal chamber is above the vault, and measures 31 feet by 24, and was 18 feet high to the springing of the roof. Some of the windows are of two lights with ogee heads; others are single-lights pointed; the walls are 5 feet 6 inches thick at the top, but the windows have large embrasures, and there are three closets and two arches in the walls. The garderobe is approached by a staircase and passage in the wall on the way up to the battlements, which are destroyed.

Corr Castle, on the Hill of Howth, near Dublin, is a small tower-house of the fifteenth century, with a stair-turret projecting on one side. The windows are

very small, and mostly square-headed; one has an ogee head and perpendicular tracery. The parapet is plain, not in battlements, but with a stone alure behind it, and the usual openings through to let off the water; it had a low building attached to it, probably a kitchen.

Drimnagh Castle, near Dublin, is a plain mediæval house still inhabited, and so deprived of all its original character that it is very difficult to assign a date to it, but is probably of the fifteenth century. All the windows and dressings are modern, but it is built of rough stone, hammer-dressed only, and the walls are thick. The moat is perfect, and washes the foot of the wall on one side. The plan is oblong, with a square tower at one end, under which is the entrance gateway, with a plain barrel-vault and a round arch. On the outer side of the tower is a stair-turret carried up above the roof, and a watch-turret with external stairs to it. The battlement is in steps, with a good coping and the alure behind it, and has the usual openings for carrying off the water.

Swords Castle, near Dublin, has been a large and important castle, but little now remains except the outer wall of enceinte, which is tolerably perfect, with its battlements and alure, a square tower at the north-east corner, an entrance gateway in the centre of the south side, remains of a large hall or chapel on the east side of it, and ruins of other buildings on the west. The large room which looks like a hall has only bare walls in a dilapidated state, and remains of the canopy of a niche at the east end, which seems to agree with the popular notion that it was a church. The whole of these ruins appear to be of the fifteenth century, though some of the windows have trefoil heads.

Malahide Castle is interesting from its history; it was founded by Richard Talbot in the reign of Henry II., has always been inhabited by the same family, and is still occupied by his lineal descendant, the present Lord Talbot de Malahide. Unfortunately the improvements which have been made from time to time, according to the tastes of successive lords, have left very little of ancient character in any part of the building. The stone vaults of the cellars and offices, and part of a stone staircase, are probably of the fifteenth century, but there is nothing that appears to be earlier. The hall and the oak chamber are of the time of James I. There are several towers, round and square, with battlements, but plastered over on the outside, and thoroughly modernised within. The castle is beautifully situated, and the effect at a distance is extremely picturesque, but it does not repay the examination of the antiquary.

Howth Castle, near Dublin, is an extensive range of building, still inhabited by Lord Howth, and much modernized. The original parts are probably of the

beginning of the sixteenth century. The entrance gatehouse remains, with a round arch and a barrel-vault; other buildings occupy three sides of a court-yard, with towers at the corners; the fourth tower has been rebuilt, and most of the curtain wall is now occupied by modern buildings. Part of the wall of enceinte remains, and incloses a large outer bailey; and one of the round towers at the corner is of large dimensions, and pierced with embrasures for cannon.

Strongford Castle, near Athenry, co. Galway, is a small house or fortress of only two stories, with a vault between. The walls are thick, the rooms small, and the work very rude and rough, but the arrangement does not appear to be early; and whatever architectural character there is belongs to the sixteenth century; but it may possibly have been originally of the fifteenth, much altered in the sixteenth. The entrance is protected by the usual inner porch, and had a portcullis, of which the groove remains. There is a large fireplace in the room on the first floor, and a garderobe from the staircase; the doorway of this room looks early, and has the shouldered lintel; there is a cruciform loophole on this floor. The windows are chiefly small square-topped loops. There are bartizans projecting from two of the angles, of rubble-work on plain corbels, with small round and square holes for musketry and culverins.

The town of Galway has many houses of the Elizabethan period, but most of them have been newly fronted and modernised. One of the tower gatehouses remains near the river, but in a ruinous state, and so plain that it may be of any period from the twelfth century downwards; it is probably late. There are two low round arches, with remains of rooms over them, and a stair-turret by the side, which has a single-light window with a trefoil head, very similar to many others of the fifteenth century in the Irish castles.

The best house in the town is the one called Lynch Castle, which was the residence of the great family of that name, but has been entirely rebuilt within the last few years; fortunately the architect employed to commit this piece of barbarism had sufficient taste to preserve as much of the old carved stone-work as possible, and built it in again as ornament in the face of the wall, but with little regard to its original position or use. This carved work is extremely beautiful, and admirably executed in the hard limestone of the country; but it is of the very latest Gothic character, and thoroughly Irish; the idea of its being of Spanish character is a mere fancy. Amongst the ornaments built in on the face of the wall are the royal arms of England, with the grey-hound and dragon for supporters; these supporters were used occasionally by

Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, but there seems reason to assign them in this instance to Henry VIII. The details of ornament in the carving are so identical with some of the work at the church, that there is no doubt both were executed at the same time, and probably by the same hands; but the church is a large one, and the work of rebuilding it was continued over a long period, so that it is difficult to fix an exact date. The dripstones are enriched with ornament; one of the windows built in has perpendicular tracery, and the old gurgoyles are placed up again. The following extract from the will of Dominick Lynch, 1508, shows that the work at the church was then going on, and this seems a probable date for that of the house also:—"Item. I order the said Stephen to finish the new work begun by me in the church." [a]

Another house, called CASTLE BANKS, bears the date of 1612. It has a fine Jacobean fireplace with the family arms, and a good doorway round-headed, with a label over; the spandrels and corbels well carved; the corbels of the Irish tongue-shape, with foliage springing from the points.

Another house of Elizabethan character bears the date of 1627 over the gateway, with the names Martin Brown and Maria Lynch, and their respective coats of arms.

Several of the Elizabethan doorways in this town are ornamented with sculpture in stone, and the interlaced patterns, popularly called Runic, are used in them, showing that this kind of ornament was used in Ireland throughout the whole of the mediæval period. In some instances this interlaced work is found at the back of the head, on corbel heads terminating dripstones, and is continued for some distance along the wall as an ornament, as if it had been intended to represent the long hair of the Irish ladies plaited, for the women of the lower classes in this part of Ireland have very long and beautiful black hair, and pride themselves not a little upon it.

The peat-bogs, in which large oak trees have frequently been found, and various other indications, show that a large part of Ireland was formerly covered with oak forests. Irish oak formed an important article of trade during the middle ages; many roofs of churches and halls of this material are to be met with in various parts of England and the Continent; and frequent mention of Irish oak occurs in French chronicles; it was much prized, and was frequently employed in making boxes or coffers for relics or other purposes. The want of drainage and the neglect of keeping open the natural outlets seem to have been the causes of the destruction of these forests and the conversion of them into bogs.

[a] Hardiman's History of Galway, p. 235.

The foregoing observations are the result of a fortnight's tour in Ireland in the summer of 1858. I should hardly have ventured to offer them to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, had I not been encouraged to do so by several of the Fellows who thought them novel and interesting, and had I not felt that my previous acquaintance with mediæval architecture in general, and with the best works upon the subject of the architecture of Ireland in particular, often enabled me to see at a glance more than would be learned by long study without such previous information. The works to which I have been chiefly indebted are Dr. Petrie's learned and valuable work on "the Round Towers," and Mr. Wilkinson's sensible practical book on "the Geology and Architecture of Ireland." Mr. Wakeman's little guide-book I have also found very useful, and I have consulted several other works which it is not necessary to mention. Previous to setting out for Ireland, I was supplied, by the kindness of Lord Talbot de Malahide, with a list of the objects most likely to be useful for my purpose; I had also the pleasure of being personally acquainted with Dr. Petrie, Archdeacon Cotton, and Sir John Deane; and the direction of my tour was in some degree guided by these considerations. As soon as I arrived in Dublin I called on Dr. Petrie, who recommended me to take his former pupil Mr. Wakeman with me into Galway, by whose assistance I was enabled to make the most of my time. I then went for a few days on a visit to my friend Archdeacon Cotton at Thurles, and he enabled me to see everything within reach of his house, including Holy-cross Abbey and the Rock of Cashel, and gave me all possible information respecting them. I then went on to Cork to see Sir John Deane, who gave me the same kind assistance for his neighbourhood. To all of them I return my cordial thanks; but I must not be understood to imply that any of these gentlemen are in the slightest degree responsible for my opinions, which may have been hastily formed, and require correction in some particulars; but I believe that my observations are new to the generality of English antiquaries.

I remain, my Lord,

Your very obedient Servant,

JOHN HENRY PARKER

XII. *On Lake-Dwellings of the Early Periods: by* William Michael Wylie, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read April 7, 1859.

Some time has now elapsed since we received the first tidings of the discoveries of very ancient remains in the lakes of Switzerland,[a] which have scarcely obtained the attention really due to their archæological importance. These accounts were followed by an earnest appeal from the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, praying our Society to undertake an examination of the lake Prasias, in the hope of verifying the descriptions of Herodotus, with which these discoveries in Switzerland seem closely to correspond.

The earliest account we have of any people betaking themselves permanently to dwellings on sites of artificial construction among waters is that given by Herodotus of a Thracian tribe who thus dwelt in Prasias,[b] a small mountain lake of Pæonia—now part of modern Roumelia. Their habitations, we learn, were constructed on platforms raised above the lake on piles, and connected with the shore by a narrow causeway of similar formation. These platforms must have been of considerable extent, for the Pæonians lived there, in a state of polygamy, with their families and horses; their chief food being the fish which the lake produced in great abundance.

Such an investigation, full of interest as it doubtless would have been, was of course beyond the powers of our Society. Inquiry was nevertheless attempted, and, pending the results of this, I think we may profitably take a rapid review of the circumstances which the Swiss Antiquaries have so deeply at heart. While the many recent discoveries of the vestiges of lake-dwellings in Switzerland allow of a more perfect generalisation than heretofore, we have also better means of attempting some comparison with

[a] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. iii. p. 102.

[b] Herodotus, lib. v. cap. 16.

the analogous, and no less remarkable, remains presented by the archæology of our own land.

In calm weather clustering collections of stems of trees may be observed in the clear waters of Swiss lakes, at depths varying from ten to twenty feet, which have given rise to many theories. Sometimes they have been conceived to be the remains of submerged forests. They are usually observed to run in a parallel direction with the shore, at a distance of about 300 feet from it. Little wots the fisherman, gliding in his skiff over the glassy surface of the lake, that these dark, mouldering stems are the monuments of the patient industry and independence of the earliest inhabitants of his country. How little he suspects that here his forefathers founded their dwellings in bold security among the floods, and that beneath may still be found the most irrefragable evidence of their industry, their arts, and daily occupations. But the veil which concealed 2,000 years of the past has been raised.

In the dry winter of 1853-4, the Swiss lakes and rivers sank lower than had ever been previously known, and the inhabitants of Meilen, on the Lake of Zürich, availed themselves of this favourable opportunity to recover a piece of ground from the lake.[a] Their excavations led to the discovery of the remains of a number of piles, deeply driven into the bed of the lake, formed of the stems of oaks, beech, birch, and fir trees. Among these piles lay a great mass of reliques which, with one single exception, belonged to the stone period. They consisted of hammers, corn-crushers, &c., and especially a great variety of axes and celts of various kinds of stone, peculiar in some instances to the East. Many of these were fitted into hafts of stag-horn. Implements of flint also were numerous, which is the more remarkable as flint is rarely found in that country. Several ponderous slabs were also noticed which had evidently done duty as hearth-stones. Mixed with these were numerous implements in bone, the teeth of bears, boars' tusks, and numerous skeletons of deer and wild boar. One amber bead was found, and an armlet of thin brass wire, which was the sole instance of any metal whatever. Pottery occurred in abundance, in a fragmentary state. It was of a rude, coarse description, fashioned by the hand. Masses of charred wood, which apparently were parts of the platform of the building, were abundant. Indeed it was evident that not only this settlement, but the great majority of those subsequently found, perished by fire. Not a trace of a saw was perceptible in the wood-work; the piles had all been pointed with stone axes, or by fire, and

[a] Keller's Keltischen Pfahlbauten in den Schweizerseen. Zürich, 1854. This work of Dr. Keller's contains a most elaborate and valuable account of the details of the Meilen discovery.

split by means of wedges. In fact these remains belong to a very early period, though others, since discovered, claim a yet more remote antiquity. Probably they belong to a race preceding the Kelts, whose very name is lost to us. Other similar discoveries have been made in the same lake.

Of a different class are the pile-remains in the Lake of Bienne, examined by Colonel Schwab in the spring of 1854. An artificial mound exists in this lake near Nidau. It consists of a mass of round stones collected with an immense amount of labour, and which, if the theory be correct of a subsequent rise in the waters of the lake, must at that period have formed an island. The base of this mound is encircled by piles driven vertically, and among them, at the bottom of the lake, planking is observed lying in a horizontal position, possibly for the purpose of retaining the stones in their place. Horizontal planking is not usual in these lakes, though common enough in the Irish *crannoges*. Remains of piles are to be seen extending across the lake, which narrows here considerably, to the opposite shore. A bridge may have existed here. The depth of water at present is about 20 feet.

The discoveries at Meilen seem to have prompted these researches at the Nidau Steinberg, which have resulted in obtaining one of the most beautiful collections of bronze reliques of the Keltic period perhaps ever made in one spot. They have sufficed to furnish several cabinets, and consist of swords, spear and javelin heads, numerous examples of sickles, celts in great variety, rings, armlets, &c. all of bronze, and often covered with ornamented designs. Implements of stone seem confined to those required for grinding and crushing corn. The pottery, which occurs abundantly, is precisely similar to that found in tombs of the same period in Switzerland. It will be seen that these remains belong to another and later people than those at Meilen.

One curious result of the examination of the Nidau Steinberg is that, among other *débris* dredged up from the surface of the stone mound, there are masses of the clay used for plastering the interior of the huts which stood either on the island or the pile-supported platforms. This clay in its natural state would have dissolved in the water; but it had been burnt quite hard, probably in the fire which consumed the whole building. The imprints on one side of these clay masses tell us that the sides of the huts must have been of wattled work, and their curves show the diameter of the huts to have been from 10 to 15 feet.[a] Several more pile-constructions have been discovered in the Bienne Lake, one of

[a] Habitations Lacustres de la Suisse—Statistique des Antiquités de la Suisse Occidentale, par F. Troyon.

which, at Möringen, incloses another smaller mound, formed of stones, covering a surface of about half an acre. In the depths of this lake a large boat may be distinguished, which has evidently capsized when laden with stones for one of these artificial islands. It is of the extraordinary length of fifty feet, by three feet and a half in breadth, and is hollowed out of the stem of a single tree. Several smaller boats of the same build have also been found. Such vessels, termed *einbäume*, are said to have remained in common use in Switzerland down to the beginning of the present century, and I have seen them myself on the small mountain lakes of Bavaria.[a]

Such are the first investigated examples of the lake settlements of the early inhabitants of Helvetia. They belong entirely to the primæval and bronze periods, and may be taken as types of numerous later discoveries. Implements of iron have so rarely occurred, that their presence may be considered subsequent, and purely adventitious. The sword indeed found by Herr Müller at Möringen appears strongly to assimilate with those found in England, and ascribed to the late Romano-British period.[b] But to the subject of the use of iron we shall have occasion to recur.

The investigations of 1854 attracted general attention, and, as a natural consequence, a great number of fresh discoveries ensued. I am able to state, on the authority of our zealous colleague M. Frederic Troyon, who takes a deep interest in these researches, that precisely similar remains of lake-dwellings have been found in the lakes of Constance, Zürich, Bienne, Neuchâtel, Morat, and Geneva; in the small lakes also of Inkwyl and Moosseedorf (Canton de Berne); and in that of Annecy in Savoy. But greatly varying dates must be attributed to these establishments, so far at least as we may gather from the varying degrees of culture displayed in their respective reliques. Thus, for instance, the remains of Moosseedorf would appear far more ancient than those of Meilen, which approximate to the bronze period.

Constructions of the age of stone have been found in the lakes of Constance, Zürich, Inkwyl, and Moosseedorf; also in the fens of the Vallée de l'Orbe, above the Lake of Neuchâtel. Those of the age of bronze are far more numerous. M. Troyon's personal researches have ascertained the existence of thirty of this class in the Leman Lake alone, and of twelve in that of Neuchâtel; while Colonel Schwab has discovered no less than ten in the small lake of Bienne.

[a] Pliny, lib. xvi. cap. 76. Archæologia, Vol. XXXVI. p. 142, *note.*

[b] Keltischen Pfahlbauten, Pl. iv. fig. 23. Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii. pl. xvi. p. 67. Proceedings Soc. Ant. vol. iv. p. 166.

Similar remains have also been met with in the deep peat-bogs which surround the hill of Chamblon, in the Vallée de l'Orbe. A very ingenious attempt has been made by M. Troyon to arrive at the probable period when the waters of the Lake of Yverdun extended thus far up the Vallée, and encircled the pile-constructions of Chamblon. The Lake of Yverdun, or Neuchâtel, is gradually silting up; the mud and detritus brought down by the tributary streams, together with the growth of the sub-aqueous peat, is gradually filling up the bed of the lake which yearly recedes from the town of Yverdun. The site of this town was still beneath the waters of the lake when the Roman city of Eburodunum was founded on its shore, from which the remains are now 2,500 feet distant. The chalk hill of Chamblon is now 2,800 feet from the site of Eburodunum, and 5,500 feet from the lake, in which it was formerly a chalk-island when those pile-buildings became grouped around it. We have seen that the lake has been about 1,500 years in sinking from Eburodunum to its present level; and M. Troyon argues that, if the silting up has always gone on in the same ratio, 3,300 years must have elapsed since the occupation of the pile-buildings in the Vallée de l'Orbe.

These lake-dwellings seem for the most part to have perished by fire at various times down to the termination of the bronze period. This at once accounts for the extraordinary mass of reliques which invariably appear to be found whenever an examination is made of the foundations. The inhabitants most probably contrived, on these occasions, to escape the conflagration in their boats, since human remains have so rarely been discovered; and their effects sank to the bottom of the lake, among the foundation-piles, where they are always found. Hence we are able to arrive at a tolerably precise knowledge of the culture and mode of life of the owners. Some few settlements, however, whether from a more secure position or other cause, seem to have enjoyed a longer immunity; as we find occasionally the iron and bronze ages in positive approximation. In a recent letter from M. Troyon, I learn that in such rare localities there have been lately found "*iron* celts, sickles, spear-heads, and swords. The swords are very remarkable for their perfect conservation. They have great iron blades, broad, straight, two-edged, thin, and flexible; with iron scabbards ornamented with designs which do not belong to the bronze period, and are equally foreign to the Roman. These swords call to mind various passages of ancient authors relating to the arms of the Gauls. I must further add that I am continually finding iron in Helvetic tumuli prior to the time of Cæsar, and that they contain a great number of objects distinct from those of the bronze period. Further dis-

coveries will show whether these lacustral abodes existed during the Roman sway in Helvetia."

It has been invariably noticed that the piles of the stone period are far more decayed than those of the bronze. In general the former barely show themselves above the surface of the mud, while the latter project several feet—a circumstance to be attributed to the greater antiquity of the former, and the wear and tear of the ever-moving water. Sometimes taller piles—that is newer—are found inserted between the old ones. Systematic examination would no doubt often show that Keltic establishments have frequently been perpetuated on the sites chosen by the former race. In such case the layer of stone reliques would be found below those of bronze, just as we but now had occasion to refer to the presence of iron implements with those of bronze. In the former case we may suppose the Keltic invaders to have ousted the early inhabitants; while, in the latter, they themselves underwent the same fate at the hands of some mightier, iron-armed foe.

The number of settlements now ascertained allows us to determine with some degree of accuracy their mode of construction. A site appears to have been selected in from eight to twenty feet of water, where the lake deepened gradually, at about 300 feet from the shore. There the first piles were driven. The diameter of the piles varies from four to ten inches. They stand from one to two feet apart—often at much greater distances, and no further order appears to have been observed in their arrangement than that they ran parallel with the shore. The most extensive of these settlements hitherto met with is that opposite Morges on the Lake of Geneva, where the piles extend 1,200 feet in length by 150 in width, giving a platform surface of 18,000 feet. On this M. Troyon calculates that about 316 cabins may easily have stood; which, only allowing four persons to a cabin, would give a population of 1,264.[a]

That, in betaking themselves to dwellings so difficult of construction and limited in space, these early races had in view a perfect freedom from dangers of every kind, can, I think, hardly be doubted. But we are not at liberty to suppose that these constructions were merely strongholds to which they retreated when pressed beyond their strength by invasion, for everything combines to tell of regular everyday life and permanent occupation. The situation would insure their being fishermen, as the Pæonians were, if even hooks and other fishing-gear did not prove it; and the numerous remains of the urus, the bear, wild boar,

[a] Statistique des Antiquités, &c.

fox, beaver, and birds of various kinds,[a] prove the chase to have been a common pursuit. The dog, then as now, was the companion and guard of man; and the presence of the cat shews the fixed and domestic life of these dwellers on the lakes. Even in the remote period that we designate the age of stone, they seem to have had horses; and the adjacent shores supported their oxen, swine, sheep, and goats.[b] In the later bronze period the numerous remains of oxen found during the researches in the Lake of Bienne prove that these animals were then abundant.

In some places, as at Moosseedorf, the great accumulation of chippings of stone and flint, the polishing tools, &c., prove the rude material to have been brought to the platforms, and fashioned, by a long course of patient industry, into implements of daily requirement.[c] Dr. Uhlmann has collected at this one spot above one thousand examples of such implements of the earliest period. Among them are some rare instances of arrow-heads of rock crystal. Elsewhere the *débris* of the oven or the kiln tell us of the exercise of the potter's art. In the whorl-stones we have evidence that the women plied the spindle. Whether flax was known to them does not appear; hemp they certainly had, and of course wool. It is a matter, too, of some interest to find in this wild region a more widely extended agriculture than usually supposed. "We are now well assured," says M. Troyon, in a private letter, "of the cultivation even then of wheat and barley, grains of which, carbonised in the conflagrations, have remained in perfect preservation. I have also in my possession nuts, beech mast, the seeds of raspberries; also the remains of a kind of mat made from hemp, the cultivation of which must therefore have been known."

It only remains to allude to the general destruction of these dwellings by fire after so long a duration. Impregnable fortresses they no doubt appeared in times when the art of boat-building in this wild region did not extend further than the tedious process of hollowing out a log of timber. Herodotus has certainly placed on record that the Pæonians of the Prasias Lake preserved their independence on the Persian invasion, and defied the attacks of Xerxes: but their safety may probably be attributed to their peculiar position in the lake—ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ. The short distance of these Swiss villages from the shore, which the depth of the lakes would ordinarily compel, was probably the cause of their destruction. Within easy bow-shot of the shore, they were not out of reach of fiery projectiles, against which thatched roofs and wooden walls would

[a] Habitations Lacustres.

[b] Id.

[c] Troyon's Ossemens et Antiquités du Lac de Moosseedorf.

present but a poor defence. Unless therefore the inhabitants were strong enough to defend the shore, their habitations would remain very much at the mercy of an attacking foe.

This brief consideration of the lake-buildings of Switzerland enables us to turn with increased interest to the very analogous remains of our own land—the Irish *crannoges*. These artificial islands, though long well known, never seem to have been examined till the year 1839, in the case of that of Lagore. A detailed account of the results of this research was communicated to the Royal Irish Academy in the following year by Mr. Wilde.[a] Since that period, in consequence of the works of the Commission for the Arterial Drainage and Inland Navigation of Ireland, no less than forty-six *crannoges* have been discovered in the lakes of Leitrim, Roscommon, Cavan, Down, Monaghan, Limerick, Meath, King's County, and Tyrone.[b] Many more are probably known, though we have at present no precise information; and a comprehensive work on this interesting portion of our national archæology is greatly to be desired.

We are indebted to Mr. Digby Wyatt for a lucid abstract[c] of the modes of constructing these buildings, which appear to have varied materially. One class, as Lagore, was formed by placing oak beams at the bottom of the lake, above which there are now sixteen feet of bog. Into these horizontal beams, oak posts from six to eight feet high were mortised, and held together by cross beams, till a circular inclosure of 520 feet was obtained. This was divided into sundry timbered compartments which were filled up with earth, and vast quantities of ancient animal remains.[d] Indeed the great demand for the latter as manure mainly led to the discovery in question. So this artificial islet was formed. A second inclosure of posts, based on the first, would show a subsequent rise in the waters of the lake. A great collection of antiquities was found, which, as Lord Talbot de Malahide states, belonged evidently to the *iron age*.[e] This *crannoge*, however, probably had its origin in far earlier times, and reliques of the stone

[a] Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. i. p. 420.

[b] Some accounts of these will be found in Wilde's Catalogue of Antiquities, &c. in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; and also in vols. i. and v. of the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. In the Appendix to vol. v. p. xliii. is a valuable report by one of the engineers of the Commission, Mr. T. J. Mulvany, on the "Artificial or Stockaded Islands in the Counties of Leitrim, Cavan, and Monaghan."

[c] Observations on the Early Habitations of the Irish, &c.

[d] These bones consisted of those of several varieties of oxen; also of swine, deer, goats, sheep, dogs, foxes, horses, and asses. Specimens will be found in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Another such *crannoge* yielded no less than 150 tons of animal remains.

[e] Archæol. Journal, vol. vi. p. 101.

and bronze periods might reasonably have been expected had circumstances allowed an earlier and more systematic examination.

The *crannoge* in Ardekillin Lough, Roscommon, is of an oval form, and may be taken as the type of a second class of construction. Here a stone wall, raised on oak piles, surrounds the island; and the inroads of the waters have also been further provided against by sheet piling, strengthened by oak stockades. The surface of this islet was formed by a layer of stones, resting on strata of ashes, bones, and logs of timber, which would again indicate a rising of the lake, or a subsidence of the island, subsequent to its original formation.

Two *crannoges* in Drumaleague Lough, Leitrim, present us with a third class. One of these islets, 60 feet in diameter, is encircled by oak piles, in some places doubled and trebled. Piles have also been sunk at various spots within the inclosure, perhaps as a foundation for some building. A sort of platform, of alder trees laid horizontally, surrounds a mass of stones in the centre of the island. Here there are traces of fire. A root of a large tree may also be noticed as having been used as a sort of table. It has been worked to a surface with the hatchet, and round it was a mass of animal remains.[a] Unfortunately, though there is a great amount of precise and very valuable information as to the construction of these early settlements, we know but very little of their positive archæology. Hence a short article by Mr. E. P. Shirley, in the Archæological Journal,[b] becomes of still greater interest and importance. Here we have a brief account of a *crannoge* island, found in 1844, in the lake of Monalty, co. Monaghan, and of another in the adjoining Lough-na-Glack. Mr. Shirley considers these islets as purely artificial, "from the remains of piles, and transverse portions of oak timber found there." Many reliques have been discovered on them, of various periods; and the very early date of their construction—and a similar attribution would probably be right in every case—is proved by the discovery there of stone celts and other remains of the first period. Besides these, were numerous examples of the usual early bronze implements, and among them some very rare ones of retractile weapons. Many other articles also were found there of various dates, down to the seventeenth century. This is just what might be expected from such permanent island formations, the security of which would at all periods render them favourite "cities of refuge." "It cannot be doubted," concludes Mr. Shirley, "that these islands, or *crannoges*, were for

[a] Wilde's Catalogue of Antiquities, &c. in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, 1857.

[b] Vol. iii. p. 44.

many years the resorts of petty chieftains, and afterwards, perhaps, of gangs of free-booters." Hearth-stones have generally been met with in the Irish *crannoges*, as they were also at Meilen on the Lake of Zürich. In a few instances causeways appear to have connected the islets with the mainland. The more usual access was by boats formed like the Swiss *einbäume*. Such vessels have almost always been found in the vicinity of each *crannoge;* and one in Drumaleague Lough presented the variety of having apertures cut in its sides, as if for row-locks.

We have ventured to infer from indirect evidence that the Swiss huts were of a circular form, and composed of wattled-work. So too a solitary but certain instance of an old Irish cabin may be supposed to portray the original huts that stood on the islands. In 1833, an ancient log-cabin was accidentally discovered in Drumkellin bog, in Donegal, at a depth of fourteen feet. A full account, with plans, &c., by Captain Mudge, R.N., exists in the Archæologia.[a] It was twelve feet square and nine feet high, being divided into two stories, each four feet high. It was constructed of rough oak planking, split evidently with wedges. The posts of the frame-work were mortised into beams laid horizontally, as noticed in the *crannoge* at Lagore; the roof was flat. The interstices between the planking of the floor and roof seemed to have been filled up with a composition of grease and sand. A staked inclosure apparently had been raised around it, and there was reason to believe that similar huts were close by. A stone celt, found in the very house, a piece of leather sandal, an arrow-head of flint, and a wooden sword, found very near the spot, give evidence of the remote antiquity of this building, which, no doubt, may be taken as a type of the early dwellings on the *crannoge* islands.

It will be seen that this subject of lake-buildings is full of interest, if only from the period of extreme antiquity to which it would seem reasonable to ascribe their primary construction and occupation. The reliques found at Moosseedorf clearly belong to that remote period we term generically the age of stone—that age when the rude races that preceded the vast outpouring of the Kelts in Europe were as yet unacquainted with the art of working metals. The pile-buildings of Switzerland then are to be attributed to a pre-historic race—so too perchance may the *crannoges* of Ireland. Yet no one can imagine that such constructions were confined to Swiss or Irish waters. It is probable enough that, when public attention is sufficiently attracted to keen research, every lake

[a] Vol. XXVI. pl. 361.

and every river of any magnitude will be found able to furnish evidence of a long-passed-away race that once dwelt on its waters.[a]

Thus far, I believe, we have not been able to recognise in our Irish lakes the Pæonian system of constructing these lake-cabins—that is, on platforms supported by deeply-driven piles—which we have seen was so generally followed in Helvetia. On the other hand, the *crannoge* system of Ireland seems well-nigh without a parallel in Swiss waters. We have spoken of the two Steinberge of the Bienne Lake, and there is a yet nearer approach to a *crannoge* in a small island of the stone period in the little Inkwyl Lake; but here, I believe, terminates the list of artificial islands in this region.

The purpose of all, however, was alike the same. From the "walled cities" of the Anakim to "the moated grange" of our own land, the habitations of man in every age will be found to testify to his jealousy of surprise, whether by a treacherous neighbour or an open foe. The yearning for security, and the love of independence that saved the Pæonians from the Persian yoke, and in after ages laid the foundations of Venice in the lagunes of the Adriatic, was no less powerful in the bosoms of the first inhabitants of Helvetia and Ierne.

WILLIAM M. WYLIE.

U. University Club,
March 28, 1859.

[a] To such probably belong the remains found on draining a mere near Wretham Hall, Thetford, Norfolk. Here, in a deposit of peaty mud, twenty feet in depth, "numerous posts of oak wood, shaped and pointed by human art, were found standing erect, entirely buried in the peat." At a depth of from five to six feet from the surface were found some very large antlers of the red deer, which had evidently been *sawn* off. It is to be regretted that no further investigation seems to have been made.—Quarterly Geological Journal, vol. xii. p. 355.

It is said too that these lake-buildings have been noticed as still existing in several parts of Asia. In a series of bas-reliefs found at Kouyunjik in the palace of Sennacherib, are represented the conquests of the Assyrians over a tribe who inhabited a marshy region; in one of these slabs (engraved in "The Monuments of Nineveh," second series, pl. 25), we see represented several small artificial islands, formed apparently by wattling together the tall reeds which grew in the marshes, and erecting a platform in which are sheltered five or six people. It has been conjectured by Mr. Layard, that these slabs represent the conquests over the inhabitants of the lower part of the Euphrates. See Nineveh and Babylon, 1853, p. 584. The notice of the habitations of the Papoos, in New Guinea, would seem a complete parallel of the Helvetian and Pæonian constructions.—Dumont d'Urville's Voyages, tom. iv. p. 607. Rawlinson's Herodotus, lib. v. cap. 16, *note*.

XIII.—*Remarks on certain ancient Pelasgic and Latian Vases found in Central Italy. By* JOSEPH BELDAM, *Esq., F.S.A.: in a letter addressed to* J. Y. AKERMAN, *Esq., Secretary.*

Read February 11th, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

IN submitting the accompanying specimens of ancient pottery to the notice of the Society I shall not presume to hazard any theory respecting them; but merely state such facts relating to them as have come under my notice, and offer a few suggestions, with the view of deriving further information. The objects themselves I believe to be rare, and but little known or noticed even in Italy. On this account, as well as in hopes that they may serve to throw some additional light on the difficult subject of Italian ethnology, I have thought them not unworthy of examination, especially as at the present moment the attention of Roman archæologists is so concentrated on the later and more splendid specimens of fictile art, that the rude and aboriginal manufactures are not likely to receive from them much additional notice.

My observation was first drawn to this singular ware during my residence last year in Rome, when one of the vases in question came into my possession. Its great dissimilarity to any Italian ware that I had noticed, led me to inquire for others, and to make my discovery known to my friend, Mr. W. J. Belt, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was then also staying in Rome, and who now furnishes many of the specimens in this collection.

We were thus led to pursue the inquiry together, but we found it very difficult to procure the vases, owing partly to their comparative scarcity, but also, I believe, to the little estimation in which they appeared to be held, on account of their rudeness, which seemed to have made both excavators and dealers less anxious about their preservation. In the course of a few months, however, a certain number were purchased, and, towards the close of the season, happening to mention the subject to Sig. Depoletti, one of the principal dealers in Rome, he stated that he still had by him the remainder of the curious vases discovered many years before at Marino near Albano, and which form the subject of a letter

GROUP. I.

GROUP II.

1 2 3 4 5 6 inches.

J. Basire del. et sc.

PELASGIC AND LATIAN POTTERY.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, May 3rd 1859.

addressed by Dr. Alessandro Visconti to Signor Giuseppe Carnevali,[a] in 1817. The whole of this remainder, amounting to about thirty pieces, was of course secured by us; and they, together with some others which I shall afterwards describe, form the collection to which the attention of the Society is now invited. For facility of reference I have divided this collection into three classes, namely :—

Class 1, which, for want of a better name, I may call Pelasgic ware. (Plate VII Group 1.)

Class 2, which for the same reason may be called Latian ware. (Plate VII Group 2.)

Class 3, which consists of ware of a mixed and intermediate character.

To begin with Class 1. The whole of these belong to the Cemetery near Albano, and the circumstances attending their discovery are so curious, that I cannot do better than give an outline of them from a notarial document appended to the above mentioned letter of Visconti, attested by the signatures of a great number of respectable persons.

It appears that excavations having been made in January, 1817, in the vineyard of Sig. Carlo Tomasetti, at Marino, near the road leading to Castel Gandolfo, for the purpose of deepening the soil, it became necessary to break up a layer of Peperino rock, and, having done so, fragments of several ancient vases, and one of them entire, were found beneath. About the same time, and at no great distance, Signor Giuseppe Carnevali of Albano, a neighbouring proprietor, having opened the ground in his own vineyard for a similar purpose, discovered a considerable quantity of sepulchral vases of a similar description. The two proprietors, struck with the singularity of the circumstance, then agreed to make a further examination together in the vineyard of Signor Tomasetti, and, to make the result more conclusive, summoned a number of respectable and learned persons to assist, whose names are subscribed to the notary's report. On the 4th day of the following February this party renewed the search accordingly: it is unnecessary to pursue the details, but the result was that, after breaking up another portion of the hitherto undisturbed Peperino rock of the thickness of about two palms or 20 inches, they found embedded beneath in a white cretaceous soil various fragments of the same ware, the fractures of which were undoubtedly ancient, but no whole vases. The party then adjourned to the house of

[a] Lettera del Dott. Alessandro Visconti al Sig. Giuseppe Carnevali di Albano sopra alcuni vasi sepolcrali rinvenuti nelle vicinanze di Alba Longa. 4to. Rome, 1817.

Signor Carnevali to compare these last found fragments with the vases and other objects previously discovered, and the comparison led them to the unanimous conclusion that the materials of both were the same. To this statement attestations are added by several other proprietors, affirming that similar discoveries had been previously made by them near the same spot at former periods, and further attestations follow from various workmen and masons to the fact that on several occasions iron nails and fragments of iron had been found by them in the substance of the rock itself.

As to the truth of these statements Visconti expresses no doubt; and I have sought the opinion of some of our most eminent geologists as to their probability, and I am now authorised by Professors Owen, Ramsey, Quekett, and Hunt, to say that, under certain conditions of percolation and admixture of cretaceous matter, it is neither impossible nor improbable that the component parts of the Peperino rock might harden into stone within a period much less than that to which this curious ware may with propriety be assigned, an illustration of this being given by Professor Owen in the instance of the Guadaloupe skeleton in the British Museum, the rock in which it is imbedded not requiring in the Professor's opinion many centuries to form.

In his dissertation, Visconti describes the contents of an entire vase found by Sig. Carnevali. This was a large jar about three palms in height, and contained a cinerary urn (of the form known under the name of a Hut or House Urn) placed in the centre. Within the urn were found calcined bones and ashes, a small ointment vase, a bronze fibula, a bronze wheel, and an article of clay resembling the stump of a tree. Around it were placed a number of vases; one of them Visconti considers to have been for lustral water; four others, of a barrel-shape, placed two on each side, he supposes to have contained wine, oil, milk, and honey; another appears to have been an *askos;* there were also two vases, possibly for burning incense, which he calls *olla animatoria*, a small figure of a man in terra-cotta, a lamp, three pateræ and a shallow bowl. The urn itself, he says, was curiously marked with zig-zag and meandering lines, and some designs that appeared to him to be written characters or symbols. The door was closed with a bronze pin. The fibula he describes to be of the Etruscan form, and of superior workmanship: and near the urn were found a small bronze lance-head, two large knife-blades, and a stylus of very antique form. These, however, must be presumed to be only a part of the many relics discovered by Signor Carnevali.[a]

[a] A section of the large jar, showing its contents, is engraved in Plate I. of the illustrations appended to Visconti's letter. A reduced representation of it may be found in Birch's Ancient Pottery, vol. ii. p. 197.

I should add a few words on the material of which the vases are composed. It consists of a volcanic clay and sand; the soil throughout this district, as it is well known, being volcanic. Visconti has given the analysis of some of the jars as follows:—

Silex	$63\frac{1}{2}$
Alumina . . .	$21\frac{1}{2}$
Carbonate of lime . .	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Water	$10\frac{1}{2}$
	100

But some of the vases being of a coarser and ruder manufacture, I requested Professor Quekett to examine them, and he has obligingly furnished the following report:—

"The portions of vases examined both chemically and microscopically exhibit certain essential differences. The Latian specimens consist of very fine particles of silex mixed with alumina, and when treated with acid scarcely show any trace of effervescence.

"The two specimens from Albano are composed of large rough particles of silica with very dark brown fragments of alumina and what appears to be a volcanic ash, some of the particles having a crystalline structure, others appearing as if they had before been subjected to the action of heat, for they have the same colour precisely as the outer crust.

"One specimen (No. 1) is much coarser than No. 2, and is nearly of uniform colour (like that of garden mould) throughout; the other is much more compact, and the action of fire is evident both on its internal and external surface. When treated with acid neither of them was much affected, the coarse one only showing slight signs of effervescence."

The sequel to Visconti's narrative is to be found in Baron Bonstetten's work on Swiss Antiquities,[a] published in 1855. He observes that the vases at first created a great sensation at Rome, but that, exorbitant prices having been asked for them, they ceased to be sought after. About this time Signor Carnevali died; and his vases were deposited with Depoletti the dealer in antiquities. The Roman Government secured some of the most valuable, and placed them in the Gregorian Museum. Baron Bonstetten purchased another portion, consisting of several *hut-urns* and

[a] Recueil d'Antiquités Suisses, fol. Leipsic, 1855.

curious bronzes; among which may be particularly mentioned a bronze fibula, ornamented with a human tooth. Other sales probably took place; but the remainder were put away among the lumber in Depoletti's warehouse until they attracted our attention.

Baron Bonstetten states that the Princess Volkonska, who was always extremely kind to the poor, wrote to Depoletti about the vases, imploring him to do an act of charity to the widow Carnevali, by purchasing those which the Cavaliere Campana had declined to take. I may add, that Depoletti informed us that the large jar containing the funereal urn and smaller vases still remained in the possession of the princess or her family.

The next question to be considered is the probable antiquity of these vases. On this point Visconti argues that they must be anterior to the year 1176 B.C., because they belong to a race far less civilized than the Trojans, who are said to have built Alba Longa about that time. We may probably admit the calculation of age though resting on an uncertain tradition. The existence of Alba Longa, by whomsoever founded, long before the building of Rome, certainly raises a presumption that many of these vases, some of which are of very rude antiquity, may have belonged to a much earlier period. This presumption seems strengthened by the peculiar form of the urns. They represent huts covered with skins, and, as they most probably imitate the habitations of the living, they not only belong to a condition of society but little removed from a state of barbarism, but seem to indicate a wandering race, scarcely emerged from their original migratory habits.[a] The terra-cotta figure of a man, possibly symbolical of a human victim, and the bronze fibula with a human tooth set in it, further confirm the idea of extreme antiquity. Nor can the discovery of certain bronze objects of superior workmanship rebut the presumption, since even barbarians in such a situation must have had frequent intercourse with other more civilized races.

Passing on from the question of antiquity to the still more difficult one of ethnology, these Pelasgic vases appear to have considerable value. The singularity and quaintness of many of their forms, with their knobs, their studs, and thorny projections, appear to separate them widely from the arts of Greece and Asia, and to assimilate them much more nearly to the rude pottery of the Teutonic and Celtic races. It would be difficult to distinguish many of them from vases found in British and Saxon barrows, and it seems almost certain that they must

[a] I should however mention that some Archæologists have ascribed these curious sepulchral urns to the Swiss troops stationed at Alba under the empire, basing their opinions on the similarity of the hut-urns to the rude cottages of the Rhætian peasants. See Bulletino del Instituto Archeologico, 1846, p. 95.

have been the manufacture of some of the earliest settlers, by whatever name they may have been known: a race, however, who may have retained their pristine habits in mountain districts, like the ancient Welsh, long after the occupation of the level country by a more civilized people. But the most important fact perhaps connected with the hut-urns of Albano and Vulci is the discovery of urns of the same or similar form in regions far beyond the Alps; in various parts of Germany, for instance, and on the eastern side of the Baltic; proofs of which have recently been afforded by the late Mr. Kemble, and in the work on Ancient Pottery of our esteemed Fellow Mr. Birch.[a] This fact, to which may be added the discovery of an urn of similar form, though of different materials, in Lycia, by Sir Charles Fellows, appears to me to establish a strong presumption of kindred race between the several nations who manufactured them; and seems to confirm the opinion entertained I believe by the sagacious Niebuhr that the principal race of immigrants who invaded and long occupied central Italy were Pelasgians coming from Asia Minor and Thessaly, a portion of whom in their progress through central Germany may be presumed to have diverged towards the north, and to have settled down on the shores of ancient Scandinavia.

I now come to the examination of Class 2, consisting of from twenty to thirty vases of different forms and sizes. Nearly the whole of them, together with several of the vases in the preceding class, are the property of my friend Mr. Belt. They were all found I believe within the boundaries of ancient Latium—several of them at Ardea, and others in various parts of the Campagna. The clay of which they are composed is volcanic, and with some exceptions differs but little from that of Class 1. They evidently belong to a very early period, and probably represent the ordinary ware of the ancient Latin people. Several of them, however, were found just outside the Porta Maggiore, in company with vases of a reddish clay, and of a somewhat later form, which the present Commendatore Visconti considered to be peculiarly characteristic of the earliest Roman ware, and one of these has the Etruscan initials AO marked on the foot. Perhaps we shall not greatly err in assigning this portion of the vases to the kingly period at Rome. We heard of the discovery of about twenty or thirty more vases of the Latian period, but these passed into the hands of an American visitor before we could secure them. Their rudeness, however, finds but little general favour with modern antiquaries, and it is difficult to obtain any specimens among the principal dealers: but they may occasionally be picked up from the peasants. I have ventured to call them the Latian ware from the sites in which they are usually found.

[a] See Archæological Journal, vol. xiii. p. 273. Birch's Ancient Pottery and Porcelain, vol. ii. p. 391.

The last class to which I invite attention consists of a mixed and intermediate ware, combining the characteristics of the earlier and later periods. They may be considered perhaps as links between the old Pelasgic and Latian and the subsequent Etruscan and Roman wares. They differ much from the earliest classes in form, and many of them also in material, and yet they resemble them in several points, more especially in ornamentation. For the most part they are plain; and none of them have representations of figures upon them, but they exhibit the same ideas of decoration in the form of lines, the zig-zag, triangular, rhomboidal, meandering, and striated patterns, with the central ornament of the fillet. Most of these patterns may be seen in the earliest Pelasgic art; and may be also traced on the painted vases of the old Athenian ware. They run through all the varieties of the Etruscan ware, (being more manifest in the earliest,) and were perpetuated to later times on Roman pottery and tessellated pavements, of which many instances occur even in our own country.

On comparing the brown Pelasgic and Latian with the early black Etruscan ware, it will be seen that they differ in little but the colour; a resemblance which, while tending to establish the antiquity of the unfigured black ware of Etruria, seems to confirm the historical fact of a widely extended Pelasgic and Etruscan occupation over the whole of the Latian territory at an early period.

There is but one more vase, to which I would wish to call your attention. It is of great singularity, and undoubtedly of a very early period: it is certainly Etruscan, for it was dug up from the ruins of ancient Veii. The colour is nearly the same as that of the Pelasgic Alban vases; but the clay is much finer and more thoroughly baked. It is remarkably light and elegant; and perhaps unique in its ornamentation. No one I think can doubt its great antiquity, though it may be difficult to decide on the precise import of the figure represented upon it. (See Woodcut.)

It may possibly represent an Etruscan hero. But it more probably typifies an Etruscan deity—half man and half fish—the Disketo or Dagon of the Etruscans; and the additional symbol of the fish appears to favour the idea that it represents the national emblem of the maritime branch of the Etruscan nation.

My principal desire, however, and that of my friend Mr. Belt, has been to contribute a few additional facts to the evidence required for the correct classification of the earliest Italian ware; and to excite some additional interest in the inquiry relating to the old Pelasgic migrations, and the original occupation of Italy—questions which, as they tend to develope a nearer connection between the early Italian, the Teutonic, the Scandinavian, and the Celtic races, may be

Etruscan vase found at Veii. Height 3¼ in.

deemed important to the science of archæology in all countries, and calculated to draw more closely together the common sympathies and relations of archæologists in every part of Europe.

I am, my dear Sir, very truly yours, &c.

JOSEPH BELDAM.

London, 11th February, 1858.

[NOTE.—Mr. Beldam has presented several of the vases from Albano, including the greater part of those represented in Plate VI. Group 1, to the British Museum, where they may be seen in company with one of the hut-urns from the same spot, which was given to that institution by the late W. R. Hamilton, Esq., F.S.A. See Catalogue of Vases in British Museum, No. 1.]

XIV. *Notice of a Portrait of John, King of France. By the Right Hon.* CHARLES TENNYSON D'EYNCOURT, *F.R.S., F.S.A. In a letter to* J. Y. AKERMAN, *Esq., Secretary.*

Read 18th March, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE portrait of John, King of France, which is now placed in the Musée des Souverains at Paris, being, I believe, the only picture honoured by such a distinction, has an especial claim to our notice. Not only is it one of the earliest examples of portrait-painting which has been preserved to us, but the history of the monarch whom it represents is so closely interwoven with that of our own country, as to render him a subject of interest to English archæologists.

Taken prisoner at the battle of Poictiers in 1356, where he saw his army annihilated, and his principal adherents either slain fighting for him or captives with him, John passed a considerable portion of the remainder of his life in England, and died here in 1364. I need not, however, recall to your recollection the events of his captivity, as they formed the subject of a very interesting communication from the Rev. Edward Trollope, F.S.A., which was read to our Society the 29th of January, 1857, and will appear in the Proceedings of the Lincolnshire Architectural Society.[a] That communication related chiefly to the monarch's residence at the Castle of Somerton, in Lincolnshire; a period of his life peculiarly interesting to myself, as he was conducted to that fortress by my ancestor, William Lord d'Eyncourt, and remained there in his custody. The accounts detailing the King's expenses during his imprisonment at Somerton, from the 11th of August, 1359, to the 21st of March, 1360, enable us to form some idea of his comforts and discomforts, and of the occupations and amusements with which he endeavoured to alleviate the weariness of his captivity.[b]

[a] Memoirs of the Associated Architectural Societies.

[b] These accounts form a portion of "Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France au 14e Siècle, publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France, par L. Douët d'Arcq." Paris, 1851, p. 193. The accounts of King John extend from 30th June, 1359, to the 8th July, 1360, when the King reached Calais on his return to France. The original MS. is preserved in the Bibliothèque at Paris. The Duc d'Aumale has since discovered among the Condé MSS. the accounts for a previous portion of the King's captivity, from 25th Dec. 1358, to the 1st of July, 1359; which his Royal Highness has printed in the Miscellanies of the Philo-

JOHN, KING OF FRANCE.

Reduced from a facsimile of the portrait in the Louvre,
made for the Right Hon. C. T. d'Eyncourt.

When last I visited the Musée des Souverains I became anxious to obtain a faithful copy of the portrait above mentioned; and, by permission of the authorities, the facsimile which I have the pleasure of placing in your hands for exhibition to the Society is the result.[a] It has been executed for me by Mr Edward Poynter, the son of Mr. Ambrose Poynter the well-known architect. He has imitated with remarkable fidelity the original, including the injuries and blemishes occasioned by time.

The first account that we have of this portrait is furnished by Montfaucon, who, in his "Tresor des Antiquités de la Couronne de France," tom. ii. pl. lv. fig. 1, gives a slight outline of the face, which he describes as "Buste du Roi Jean tiré d'un tableau de M. Gagnieres[b] peint dans le tems même." The picture seems to have passed from M. Gagnieres' hands into the Bibliothèque at Paris. In the "Notice des Estampes exposées à la Bibliothèque du Roi, 1823," No. 205, a description of it is given, which, after alluding to the propriety of this portrait of King John, "fait de son temps," being placed in a library which had its origin in his reign, goes on to say, "Cette peinture est une espèce de gouache, ou de peinture à la colle; on a pretendu devoir attribuer ce tableau à Jean de Bruges, qui était peintre du Roi Charles V. dit *le Sage*. La bordure a été faite, à ce qu'on croit, du temps de Louis XII. Elle a été détériorée en 1793."

In 1821 Dr. Dibdin saw the portrait in the Cabinet des Estampes, and describes it as follows:[c] "Hanging up on a pillar at the hither end of the second room you observe a large old drawing of a head or portrait, in a glazed frame, which strikes you in every respect as a great curiosity. M. du Chesne, the obliging and able director of this department of the collection, attended me on my first visit. He saw me looking at this head with great eagerness; 'Enfin, voila quelque chose qui merite bien votre attention,' observed he. It was, in fact, the portrait of 'their good but unfortunate King John'—as my guide designated him." Dibdin was so much pleased with this interesting relic that he employed M. Cœuré, "a young artist of established merit," to make him a drawing of it; which was afterwards engraved, and published as an illustration of his "Tour in France."

biblon Society, vol. ii., 1855-6. The accounts appear to have been kept by Denys de Collors, the king's chaplain and secretary.

[a] [The facsimile alluded to above is of the size of the original (22 in. by 14 in.), and executed in water colours. The accompanying illustration (Pl. VIII.) has been reduced from it, and is presented to the Society by the liberality of the author of this communication.—Ed.]

[b] M. Gagnieres formed the valuable collection of drawings of royal and other tombs formerly existing in the French cathedrals and abbeys, which is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[c] Bibliographical and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany, 1821, vol. ii. p. 140.

He proceeds to say that the original is injured by pieces of the colour having given way in the cheek and about the eye, although not so represented in his drawing; that the painting is executed in a sort of thick body colour upon fine linen, the background of gold worn thin and almost entirely perished; and that there is a sort of frame stamped or pricked out upon the surface of the gold, as seen in illuminations of books of that period. He adds, "It would seem as if the first layer upon which the gold is placed had been composed of the white of an egg, or some such glutinous substance."

Mr. Edward Poynter says:—"The portrait appears to be painted in *tempera*, or body colour, on a *gesso* ground, spread upon rather coarse canvas. There is round the portrait a wooden frame, formed of a small ogee moulding, which has been gilded as well as the background. It has evidently been the original moulding round the panel, which was probably let into a wall."

The original picture was removed to the Louvre on the formation of the new Musée des Souverains, in which are collected so many interesting memorials of the various dynasties which have governed France.

I have mentioned that the execution of the portrait has been attributed to Jean de Bruges, painter to Charles V., King of France; but Mr. Edward Trollope has suggested, with much greater probability, that it was the work of Maître Girard d'Orleans, King John's painter, who was with him in England, and is mentioned in several items of the accounts. This person appears to have discharged a multiplicity of duties; at Easter, 1352, we find him making chairs and other necessary pieces of furniture for the King.

Pour une aune de veluyau asuré des fors, bailliées à mestre Girart d'Orliens, paintre, pour faire les siéges de deux chaières pour le Roy livrées en la dicte chambre au terme de Pasques, 8 escus.

Ledit maistre Girart pour le fust et façon des dictes chaières ouvrées à orbevoies[a] à deux endrois, paintes et couvertes de cuir par dessouz ledit veluyau 10l. p.

Ledit maistre Girart pour 2 selles necessaires feutrées et couvertes de cuir et de drap delivrées en la dicte chambre 6l. p.[b]

A similar charge occurs for chairs etc., for six other members of the royal family of France, which seem to have been ornamented with the armorial bearings of the persons for whom they were destined.[c]

[a] *Orbevoies*, pierced work filled up at the back,—blind paneling.

[b] Compte d' Etienne de la Fontaine in Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France au 14e siecle, p. 111. The furnishing of such things seems to have been a privilege of the court painter both in France and Burgundy. See Count Laborde's Notice des Emaux du Louvre. Glossaire, *Selle necessaire.*

[c] Comptes de l'Argenterie, p. 117.

In the same year the marriage of Blanche de Bourbon with Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, furnished further occupation for the King's painter. In the accounts of the expenses we find the following entries under the head of *communes choses*:[a]—

Pour une aune de velluau vermeil des fors, bailliée à maistre Girart d'Orliens, paintre, pour couvrir 2 chaaires, l'une à dossier pour atourner ladicte dame, l'autre sans dossier pour soy laver, 6 escuz et demi.

Ledit maistre Girart pour la façon des dictes 2 chaires les quelles furent paintes d'azur et les testes estancellées de fin or, 14l. Pour une damoiselle à attourner[b], 60s par. Et pour une neccessaire couverte de cuir et envelopée de drap, 4l.

The expenses during the King's captivity show that Maître Girard was employed in making or repairing the King's furniture, trunks, &c.[c] though the items are not of so sumptuous a character as those mentioned above. He was also commissioned by the King to supply some deficiencies in his set of chessmen, namely five pawns and a bishop.[d] He seems to have had the charge of some wooden carvings belonging to the King, as another entry notices the purchase of two baskets "pour mettre certains ymages de fust pour le Roy."[e] The only entries, relating to what we should consider the proper functions of his office, are thus given in the accounts published by his Royal Highness the Duc d'Aumale. In February, 1359, we find[f]:—

Maistre Girart d'Orliens, paintre et varlet de chambre du Roy, pour plusieurs otilz achetez du commandement du Roy, pour faire certains tableaux que le Roy le a commandé à faire pour li, paié du commandement du dit Seigneur, pour tout xxxiijs. iiijd.

On the 4th of April following is another entry:[g]—

Maistre Girart d'Orliens, pour certains hotilx à faire son mestier en certains tableaux que le Roy fait faire, paié du commandement du Roy, ijs. iiijd.

We do not learn from these entries the nature of the pictures which the King had ordered, nor what was their destination. It is not impossible that the portrait which forms the subject of this communication may have been painted by Maître Girard for the King, to be given, perhaps, to one of his noble visitors and relations, such as the Countess of St. Pol or of Warren.

[a] Comptes de l'Argenterie, p. 300.

[b] *Demoiselle à atourner*, a wooden figure to support a mirror, and the dresses of the lady in whose room it was placed. See Count de Laborde's Notice des Emaux du Louvre. Glossaire.

[c] Philobiblon Miscellany, pp. 95, 97, 100. Comptes de l'Argenterie, p. 264.

[d] Philobiblon Miscellany, p. 99.

[e] Philobiblon Miscellany, p. 112.

[f] Ibid. p. 107.

[g] Ibid. p. 118.

Maître Girard had been, however, connected with works of art on a much larger scale. A curious document, published in the "Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartes,"[a] is so closely connected with our artist, and contains in itself so many points of interest, that I will venture to transcribe it here, especially as it has appeared only in a publication of limited circulation, and is probably little known in this country. It relates to the works in progress at the royal castle of Vaudreuil, in Normandy, according to the directions of the Dauphin, duke of Normandy, eldest son of King John, and afterwards Charles V., and furnishes so interesting a picture of the style of decoration used in a royal abode during the fourteenth century, that I trust no apology is needed on my part for reproducing the document; it is as follows[b]:—

Cest l'ordenance de ce que je Girart d'Orliens ai cautié à fere par Jehan Coste ou chastel du Val de Rueil, sur les ouvrages de peincture qui y sont à parfaire, tant en la sale come allieurs, du commandement Mons^r le duc de Normandie, l'an de grace mil CCC *einquante et cinq, le jour de la nostre Dame en Mars.*

Premierement pour la sale, assouvir[c] en la maniere que elle est commenciée ou mieux; c'est assavoir: parfaire l'ystoire de la vie César, et au dessouz en la derreniere liste une liste de bestes et d'images, einsi comme est commencée.

Item la galerie à l'entrée de la sale en laquelle est la chace parfaire, einsi comme est commencée.

Item la grant chapelle fere des ystoires de nostre Dame, de sainte Anne et de la Passion entour l'autel, ce qui en y pourra estre fet.

Item pour le dossier ou table dessus l'autel, iij hystoires; cest assavoir: ou milieu la Trinité et en l'un des costez une hystoire de saint Nicolas et en l'autre de saint Loys; et au dessouz des hystoires du tour de la Chapelle, parfaire de la maniere de marbré[d] einsi comme il est commencié.

Item l'entreclos, qui est au milieu de la chapelle, estanceler et noter de plusieurs couleurs estancelées.

Item l'oratoire qui joint à la chapelle parfaire; c'est assavoir: le couronnement qui est ou pignon avec grant quantité d'angres,[e] et l'annunciation qui est a l'autre costé. Et en vij archez qui y sont, vij ymages; c'est assavoir: en chascun archet un ymage, et les visages qui sont commenciez parfaire, tant de taille comme de couleurs; et les draps diaprez nuer[f] et parfere; et une piece de merrien qui est au dessouz des archez armoier de bonne armoierie ou de chose qui le vaille.

Et toutes ces choses dessus devisées seront fetes de fines couleurs à huile, et les champs de fin or enlevé,[g] et les vestemens de nostre Dame de fin azur, et bien et laialment toutes ces choses vernissiées et assouvies entierement sans aucune deffaute. Et fera le dit Jehan Coste toutes les œuvres

[a] Tome i. Deuxiéme série, p. 540. Paris, 1844.

[b] This document formed part of the collection of MSS. of Baron de Joursanvault; in 1844 it was in the possession of M. Salmon.

[c] *Assouffir*, to terminate.

[d] Imitation of marble?

[e] Angels.

[f] *Nuancer*, shade.

[g] Worked in relief, as were many of the gilt details of the paintings formerly in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, which are of the same period and now in the British Museum.

dessus dictes, et trouvera toutes les choses necessaires à ce, excepté buche à ardoir[a] et liz pour hosteler ly et ses gens, en la maniere que l'en ly a trouvé ou temps passé. Et pour ce faire doit avoir six cens moutons,[b] desquiex il aura les deux cens à présent sur le terme de Pasques et deux cens à la sainct Michel prochainement venant, et les autres deux cens au terme de Pasques après ensuivant.

Accordé et commendé par Mons[r] le duc de Normandie au Val de Rueil, le xxv[e] jour de Mars MCCCLV.

What part Girard d'Orleans took in these works does not clearly appear; it is possible that he may have sketched the designs, and, being obliged to remain with the King, he may have left them to be finished by Jean Coste. Whether they were ever completed is very doubtful, for, the date of the document being according to the old computation, the transaction to which it refers took place in the spring of the historical year 1356, and in less than six months afterwards the disastrous defeat of the French army at Poictiers must have put an end to all royal works, and the money required for the ransom of the King and his adherents must have prevented any expenditure in ornamenting his castles.

There is one passage in this document of considerable interest, as it bears on that much-vexed question, the invention of oil-painting by Van Eyck. This has been already denied on the authority of other documents; but the agreement for Vaudreuil specifies most distinctly that the colours were to be *à huile*, that is, mixed with oil.

I have already mentioned that the picture of King John is remarkable as an early specimen of a portrait; that is, a painting intended merely to represent a person, as distinguished from the usual pictures of the period in which the portraitures were accessories. Three religious paintings containing figures of the King are recorded by Montfaucon[c] as existing in his time. One of them was an altarpiece in the chapel of S. Hippolyte, at S. Denis; another was in the Sainte Chapelle, and the third in the chapel of S. Michel at Paris; but the stormy period which has intervened, and the violence directed against every reminiscence of royalty, have in all probability led to their destruction.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir, sincerely yours,

C. D'EYNCOURT.

Bayons Manor, 15th March, 1858.

[a] Fire-wood.

[b] Mouton, also called florin d'or au mouton. This coin, so named from its having upon it the Agnus Dei, was then worth about 4*s*. sterling.

[c] Montfaucon, Tresor des Antiquités de la Couronne de France, tome ii. pl. lv.

XV. *On Recent Excavations at Carthage, and the Antiquities discovered there by the Rev. Nathan Davis.* *By* Augustus Wollaston Franks, *M.A.*, *Director.*

Read March 14, 1859.

Among the various sites memorable from the greatness of the cities which once occupied them, there are few that equal in interest or surpass in historical associations that of Carthage. The myths respecting the foundation of that city, and the fate of its unhappy queen Dido, have received from the creative fancy of the poet such a semblance of truth as to make them assume a place in our recollections with the actual events of history. The extraordinary rise of Carthage and its equally extraordinary fall, the utter destruction of its records, the obscurity in which its language and art are enveloped, all concur to excite in us an interest and a curiosity in regard to everything connected with it, which is hardly awakened by the history, real or fabulous, of any other city of Pagan antiquity.

The best authorities appear to agree in referring the origin of Carthage to the ninth century before Christ; when a Tyrian colony, partly driven by political circumstances, partly led by the love of gain and enterprise, laid the foundations of a city destined to rival and even surpass in greatness Tyre herself. The territory they selected seems to have been ceded to them peaceably by the natives, to whom they long rendered an annual tribute. The early history of the colony is enveloped in the deepest obscurity; which is the more to be regretted as it must have been full of stirring incidents, fearful crises, and daring adventures. We can well imagine the slights shown by the mother city, the jealousy of neighbouring and older Phœnician settlements, in addition to the usual difficulties attending the foundation of a colony. At length, the superior merits of the site having been ascertained, the arrival of fresh colonists from home, and immigrations from the older settlements in Africa, would bring wealth and experience to strengthen the rising state.

In the sixth century before Christ we find Carthage mistress of Sardinia and Corsica, and filling the neighbouring coasts of Africa, Spain, and Sicily with her colonies; so great indeed had she become as to rouse the jealousy of Cambyses, who contemplated an attack upon her. Then began the wars with the Greeks in Sicily, ending with her great defeat at Himera in B.C. 480. Fresh inroads upon the Greek colonies ensued, which, though vigorously resisted, were eventually successful, till, when about to carry all before her, Carthage encountered the iron legions of Rome. Then came the First Punic war, terminating in B.C. 241 with the loss of Sicily, wasted finances, and domestic troubles. The Second Punic war, though rendered glorious by the victories and conquests of Hannibal, was, notwithstanding, brought to a close on the fatal field of Zama in B.C. 201, leaving Carthage once more prostrate and exhausted. We then arrive at the encroachments of Masinissa and the Third Punic war, the last mighty contest between Carthage and Rome; in which the former was no longer contending for the empire of the Mediterranean, but struggling for existence; until at length she concentrated her expiring energies to withstand that extraordinary siege so well described by Polybius and Appian, which terminated in a destruction more awful and complete than ever befel so powerful a state. *Delenda est Carthago;* the decree went forth, and the sword, fire, and ram did their appointed work. This was in B.C. 146; twenty-four years later the conquerors seem to have repented of the extent of their vindictiveness and of the desolation they had wrought, and Caius Gracchus attempted to refound Carthage, under the name of Junonia. But great cities are not to be refounded at will: the colony dwindled away, and it was not till B.C. 19 that Augustus rebuilt Carthage. After this the city gradually increased in wealth and consequence, until, through the favour of Septimius Severus and the later emperors, she attained to such a degree of prosperity, that in the time of Ausonius we find her claiming to be at least the third, if not the second, city of the Roman empire.[a] Carthage then became celebrated as a centre of Christianity, was made illustrious by her bishops, and was consecrated by her martyrs. Conquered by Genseric in A.D. 439, she became the capital of the Vandal kingdom in Africa, until retaken by Belisarius in A.D. 533. Her final destruction came from the hands of the Arabs under Hassan in A.D. 647.

[a] Ausonius, Ordo Nobilium Urbium. II. Constantinopolis et Carthago.

Constantinopoli adsurgit Carthago priori,
Non toto cessura gradu: quia tertia dici
Fastidit, non ausa locum sperare secundum,
Qui fuit ambarum.

A second period of desolation followed, more complete and prolonged than the first. The solitude of the wasted city was then disturbed only by the Moslem or the Frank seeking to abstract her buried marbles, or carry off the decorations of her ruined edifices, to ornament some mosque or cathedral. After a lapse of six centuries she witnessed a sad expenditure of treasure and blood in the miscarriage of the ill-fated crusade of St. Louis of France; which, though disastrous to its leader, who there died, was not unfruitful in its results; since it is owing to that unfortunate expedition that the flag of France now floats over the ancient citadel of Carthage, and that the chapel of St. Louis crowns one of her highest eminences.

Little could the Tyrian colonists, when landing on the coast of Libya, have foreseen the future greatness of the city which they were about to found; and yet that greatness depended in no small degree on the excellence of the site which they selected.

About midway along the southern shore of the Mediterranean, where the coast of Africa takes a sudden turn to the north, and approaches nearest to the island of Sicily, there project two great promontories, Cape Farina and Cape Bon, which form the modern Gulf of Tunis. From the west side of this gulf a peninsula juts out towards the east, terminating in a broad triangular head; the most northern point of which is a hill of moderate height called Jebel Gamart; the eastern point is the lofty hill terminating in Cape Carthage, and crowned by the modern village of Sidi Bou-Said; and between the latter and Gamart is a fertile plain, called El Mersa, full of gardens, among which the most remarkable object is a villa belonging to the Bey of Tunis. From Sidi Bou-Said a range of low hills slopes off towards the south, gradually receding from the shore, and terminating in an eminence of about two hundred feet, now known by the name of St. Louis. Still further southwards is a narrow isthmus or tongue of sand, dividing the waters of the Lake of Tunis from the sea, the communication between the two being by means of a narrow outlet called Goletta. A short distance to the west of the hill of St. Louis is the village of Malkah, built on the ruins of the great cisterns which supplied Carthage with water. From this spot may be traced the remains of a large aqueduct, stretching along the isthmus which connects the peninsula with the mainland. This isthmus is now of considerable width, but the extensive salt marsh or *sebkha*, on its northern side, seems to confirm the idea which has been entertained by geologists, that the land has gained on that side very extensively by the deposits of the River Mejerdah; which have also interposed a considerable space between Utica and the sea.

The whole peninsula is covered with shapeless ruins, furnishing but scanty indications of the buildings to which they belonged or of their relative ages, every available stone having been carried away for building material.

Such is the physical aspect of the site of Carthage. The exact topography of the various portions of the city, whether Punic or Roman, has given rise to much controversy and diversity of opinion. Belidor, Shaw, Estrup, Humbert, Chateaubriand, Mannert, Ritter, and others have put forth various and contradictory views on the subject.[a] This was partly owing to the insufficient evidence at their command, and it was not till 1833 that antiquaries were in a condition to enter into the question of the topography of Carthage on data at all satisfactory. In that year Monsieur Falbe, Consul-General of Denmark at Tunis, published an elaborate map of the peninsula on a scale of nearly four inches to a mile, noting every little heap of ruins and peculiarity of outline.[b] This work was executed under considerable disadvantages, owing to the necessity of not awakening the jealousy of the native rulers, who had not then adopted their present more liberal policy.

M. Falbe also published a short memoir to accompany his map, but without attempting any minute identification of the localities. This has however been accomplished to a considerable extent by M. Dureau de la Malle,[c] who has published a very interesting memoir on the various points of Carthaginian topography, Punic, Roman, and Byzantine, in which he has collected and compared the statements of ancient authors. It is, however, beyond the scope of this communication to discuss the various matters of interest and remaining doubts connected with the plan of the Carthaginian city. It will be sufficient to describe very shortly the principal sites which seem to have been established by the researches in question.

The great subject of controversy has been the position of the ports of Carthage; of which Appian[d] furnishes us with a minute description. There was an outer

[a] Belidor, *Architect. Hydraul.* tom. ii. p. 36, pl. i.; Shaw, Travels in Barbary and the Levant, vol. i. p. 165; Estrup, *Lineæ Topogr. Carthag. Tyriæ* (Miscell. Hafn. ii. part i. 1821); Chateaubriand, *Itineraire*, tom. ii. p. 208 (1836); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vol. i. p. 914, 1822; Sir Grenville Temple, Excursions in the Mediterranean, vol. i. ch. iv. 1835; Mannert, *Geogr. der Griechen und Römer*, Africa, part ii. ch. ix. p. 264, 1826; Heinrich Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, vol. i. p. 80, 1849. The several plans of some of the above writers are represented in the work of Dureau de la Malle, *Recherches sur la Topographie de Carthage*. See also Smith's Dictionary of Ancient Geography, under *Carthago*.

[b] *Recherches sur l'Emplacement de Carthage, &c.*, par C. T. Falbe. Fol. Paris, 1833.

[c] *Recherches sur la Topographie de Carthage, par M. Dureau de la Malle.* 8vo. Paris, 1835.

[d] Punica, viii. 96.

port for the merchantmen, and an inner one for the ships of war; and in the midst of the latter was an island, Cothon, where the admiral dwelt, and which gave its name to the whole port. Some of the older writers place this on the northern side of the peninsula; Falbe and Dureau de la Malle, whose views have been confirmed by Barth, assign it to the southern extremity, where basins answering to the description of Appian still remain.[a]

Assuming the position of the port, we fix that of the *tænia* or tongue, which projected from its neighbourhood, as the isthmus towards Goletta. The hill of St. Louis becomes the Byrsa of the Punic wars; on the next hill-top stood the temple of Juno. The forum was at the foot of the hill of St. Louis, between it and the Cothon; and the position of the suburb Megara seems determined as being to the west of the hill of St. Louis and the village of Malkah. The opinions which thus place the principal buildings in Punic Carthage towards the southern end of the peninsula appear to gain some confirmation from the numerous tombs which have been discovered at the northern end, in the hill of Gamart. These seem to shew that the latter was the necropolis, and was therefore without the walls of the city.

Having thus briefly noticed the principal points of interest in the topography of Carthage, I will proceed to give some account of the results of the excavations recently made on behalf of the English Government by the Rev. Nathan Davis. This gentleman had resided for some years in the Pachalic of Tunis, and, from his intimate acquaintance with the Bey, and his knowledge of oriental languages, was in a favourable position to obtain the necessary facilities for making excavations. It is owing to his energy and perseverance that these operations have been successful, and that the British Museum has been enriched by some valuable additions to its stores.

Mr. Davis's excavations were commenced towards the end of the year 1856, and were continued at intervals during 1857 and 1858, when they were brought to a close for want of further funds. He prosecuted his researches at about twenty different spots with more or less success. The antiquities discovered were sent to England on board of H. M. Ships Curaçoa and Supply, the latter

[a] Their opinion seems to have been generally received; yet a recent traveller, the Rev. J. W. Blakesley, though not disposed to question the position of the Cothon, which he looks upon as a dry dock, still considers the principal port to have been on the north-west side of the peninsula, founding his opinion in some measure on the significance of the Arab name El Mersa (the port). He also seems disposed to place the original Byrsa of the Phœnician colony and the temple of Æsculapius on the hill surmounted by the Turkish fort Burj-Jedid.—See "Four Months in Algeria, with a Visit to Carthage," by the Rev. J. W. Blakesley. 8vo. Camb. 1859.

of which arrived in England at the beginning of the present year. These antiquities may be divided into four classes, each of which I propose to notice separately in the following order: I. Inscriptions; II. Fragments of sculpture and architectural decorations; III. Mosaic pavements; IV. Minor antiquities.

I. *Inscriptions.*

Stone tablets with Phœnician inscriptions have at various times been brought to light among the ruins of Carthage. In 1817 Major J. E. Humbert found near Malkah, the village built amidst the remains of the great cisterns, four ornamented *stelæ* with inscriptions, which he looked upon as sepulchral, and which passed from his hands into the Museum at Leyden.[a] Another was discovered near the same spot in 1831 or 1832, and was sent by Chev. Scheel, Secretary to the Danish consulate at Tunis, to the Museum at Copenhagen. It is the most highly ornamented tablet that has been found, and is represented in the Archæologia, Vol. XXX. Pl. V. fig. 7;[b] a cast having been communicated to our Society by Mr. Hudson Gurney. A portion of another is preserved in the Museum at Leyden, and was first published by Hamaker.[c] A small fragment of one more, obtained by Humbert from near Malkah, was lost on its way to Denmark.[d] Another was found in 1823, also near Malkah, and is at Leyden.[e] Another was discovered at the same place by M. Falbe, from whose hands it is said by Gesenius to have passed into the collection of Count Turpin.[f] Three more were found at Carthage by Sir Thomas Reade, and copies of the inscriptions were communicated by him to our Society in 1836, but the present resting-place of the originals is not known.[g] Another inscription we owe to M. Falbe, which is published by Judas in his *Etude de la Langue Phénicienne*.[h] One more was found in 1841 when digging for the foundations of the Chapel of St. Louis, and is now in the Louvre.[i] Another was discovered during the excavations made by the Society for exploring Carthage, and fell to

[a] Humbert, *Notice sur quatre cippes sepulcraux et deux fragmens découverts en* 1817 *sur le sol de l' ancienne Carthage.* The Hague, 1821. See also Gesenius, *Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta*, p. 162 (Carthaginienses i.—iv.).

[b] See also Falbe, *Recherches, &c.* pl. v. No. 3. Gesenius, p. 176 (Carthaginiensis v.).

[c] Miscellanea Phœnicia (1828), p. 9, tab. i. fig. 2. Gesenius, p. 177 (Carthaginiensis vi.).

[d] Hamaker, Miscell. Phœn., p. 11, tab. i. No. 3. Gesenius, p. 178 (Carthaginiensis vii.).

[e] Münter, Acta Soc. Reg. Dan., 1824. Hamaker, Miscell. Phœn., p. i. tab. i. No. 1. Gesenius, p. 178 (Carthaginiensis viii.).

[f] Falbe, *Recherches, &c.* pl. v. No. 5. Gesenius, p. 180 (Carthaginiensis ix.).

[g] Engraved in Gesenius, tab. 47, Nos. lxxxi. lxxxii. (Carthaginienses xi. xii.)

[h] Pl. 8 (14e Carthaginoise).

[i] Judas, *Etude, &c.* pl. 9 (15e Carthaginoise).

the share of M. Dureau de la Malle.[a] Two more were brought to light by the Abbé Bourgade while making researches in the island of the Cothon, and accounts of them were published by him, and by the Abbé Bargès.[b]

It thus appears that, previously to Mr. Davis's researches, about seventeen tablets[c] had been discovered at Carthage, which are now scattered among the museums of Europe. His excavations have disinterred no less than seventy-three tablets with Phœnician inscriptions, adding thereby very largely to the scanty stores of Phœnician epigraphy.

The tablets obtained by Mr. Davis are generally composed either of a compact limestone or of a fine sandstone.[d] The front and back are parallel, and the upper part terminates either in an acute angle, or in a pedimental form with elevations at the corners resembling *acroteria*.[e] The front is worked to a smooth surface, on which the inscription is scratched with a sharp tool; but the back and sides are only hammer-dressed. None of the tablets appear to be perfect, many of them having lost their upper part, while nearly all of them seem to have been originally longer at the lower end. In their present state they vary in height from 5½ to 12 inches, and in width from 4 to 7 inches. Their thickness is considerable in proportion to their width, being from 1½ to 4 inches. The appearance of the tablets will be better understood from the accompanying illustrations, which represent the most elaborately-ornamented specimen found by Mr. Davis and one of the plain kind.

These interesting relics seem to have been all discovered at the same spot,[f] between the hill of St. Louis and the sea, and not far from a slight ravine which divides that hill from the neighbouring eminence on which writers place the temple of Juno. We are not yet acquainted with the exact circumstances of the discovery, nor with the depth or the manner in which they were deposited. I trust that Mr. Davis may be induced to publish a minute account of his excavations, as by so doing he will add greatly to the value of his researches.

[a] Published by De Saulcy, Annali del Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, vol. xix. tav. G.

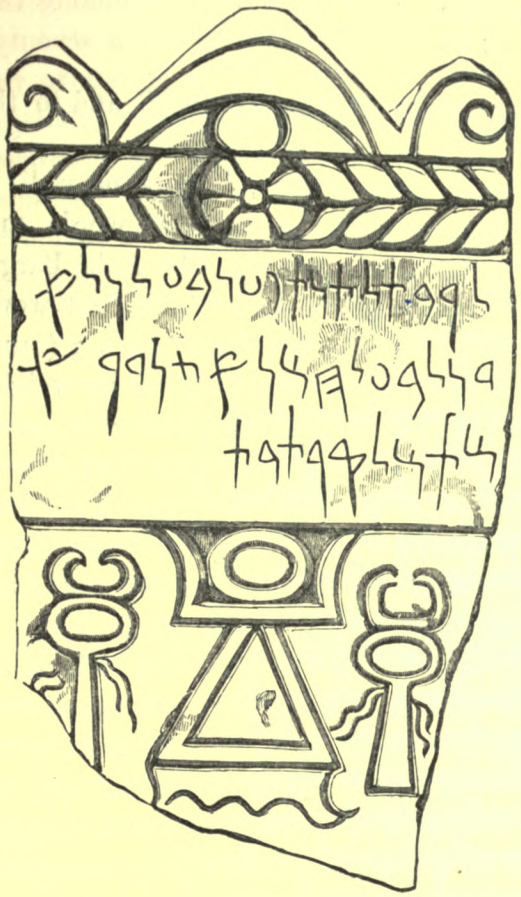
[b] *Toison d'or de la Langue Phenicienne*, par l'Abbé F. Bourgade. Fol. Paris, 1852. *Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions Puniques découvertes dans l' Ile du Port Cothon à Carthage*, par l'Abbé J. J. L. Bargès. Fol. Paris, 1849.

[c] I have omitted from the enumeration one published by Gesenius (Carthaginiensis x.), of which the history seems doubtful.

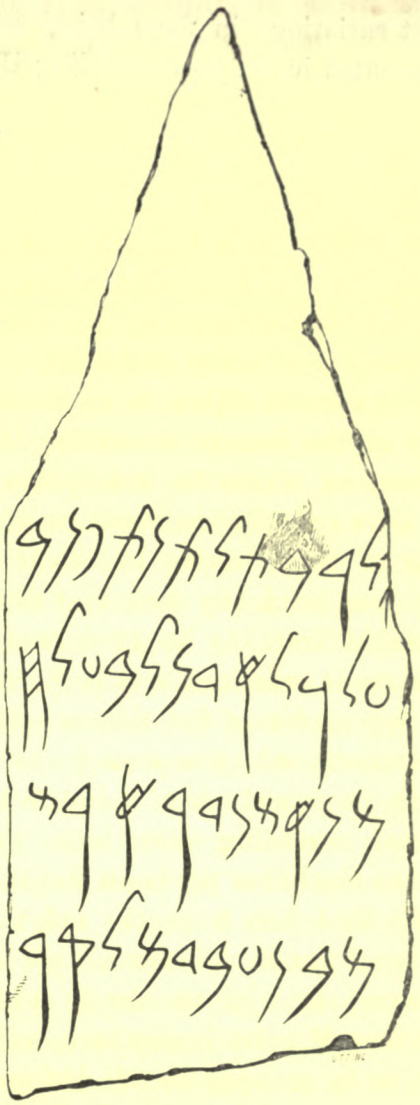
[d] One of them is of white marble; it resembles in form a quadrangular tile, and the inscription is in a single line on the edges.

[e] The two exceptions to this are the marble tablet just mentioned, and a cylindrical shaft of stone, 18 inches high, with small niches at intervals upon it.

[f] Apparently near the ruins marked in Falbe's map No. 58.



No. 1.
Votive Tablet from Carthage.
Height 9⅛ in., width 5⅛ in.



No. 2.
Votive Tablet from Carthage.
Height 11⅛ in., width 4½ in.

On examining these tablets it will be found that the inscriptions upon all of them are of a similar kind, and that they resemble in that respect the greater part of the seventeen tablets which had been previously discovered.[a]

The first thirty characters in every one of these inscriptions are identical, any

[a] The exceptions are those numbered by Gesenius, viii. ix. xi., and Judas 15, which all appear to be sepulchral.

slight variations in form being evidently due to carelessness; they may be thus represented in the corresponding Hebrew characters:

לרבת לתנת פנבעל
ולאדן לבעל חמן
אש נדר . . . . . .

and may be rendered "To the Lady Tanith Pen-Baal [Face of Baal], and to the Lord Baal-Hamon, the vow of . . . ."

Before considering the other portions of the inscriptions, it may be well to make a few remarks on this formula. The meaning of the first two words, and their application to the goddess Tanith seem to be undoubted. The Abbé Bargès has indeed suggested transferring the fifth letter to the end of the first word, but as his reading is based on his having mistaken the ל (lamed) for a נ (nun), an error clearly shown by Mr. Davis' inscriptions, this suggestion has no weight. The next word was read by Gesenius ולבעלן, and translated by him "et hero." M. de Saulcy[a] has however proposed reading the first character פ (pe) instead of ו (vau), and the second נ (nun) instead of ל (lamed), making Pen-Baal, "face" or "manifestation of Baal," as a title for Tanith.[b] The next letter (the fourteenth) was read by Gesenius and others נ (nun), and by the Abbé Bargès כ (caph); but it has been more correctly read by M. de Saulcy[c] as ו (vau); a reading completely borne out by the new inscriptions, in which the letter in question preserves its peculiar character, and shows itself quite distinct from the letters כ (caph) and נ (nun). With regard to the two next words לבעל חמן, "to Baal Hamon," all the commentators seem to agree; but the two following have given rise to much difference of opinion, and they are unfortunately of great importance with regard to the meaning of the inscriptions. All seem to approve of dividing them into אש נדר. Quatremère[d] interprets them *hoc quod vovit;* Lindberg,[e] *quisque vovit;* Gesenius, *vir vovens;* De Saulcy, *est res voto promissa;* Judas, *basis sepulturæ;* Bargès approves of the older reading by Quatremère; I have ventured to take the simpler form, "the vow of."

Such is the formula which occurs in a more or less perfect condition in the

[a] Revue Archéologique, 1846, tom. iii. p. 632.

[b] The correction with regard to the *nun* is confirmed by Mr. Davis's inscriptions.

[c] Revue Archéologique, 1846, tom. iii. p. 630.

[d] Mémoire sur quelques inscriptions Puniques. Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. i. p. 15 (1828).

[e] De inscr. Melitensi. Copenh. 1828.

greater part of the inscriptions found at Carthage.[a] The portions which immediately follow it are in all of them different, being various groups of letters separated by the words בן (ben) or בת (bet), son or daughter, and therefore giving the names and descent of the persons for whom the inscriptions were executed. With regard to reading these groups, there is generally little difficulty where the letters are clear or uninjured. Like most proper names of Semitic origin, they are composed of the names of various deities, with a prefix or suffix signifying dependance or respect, principally the prefix Abd or Bod (servant). Names derived from Melcarth, the Tyrian Hercules, are very common, as we might naturally expect would be the case in a colony of Tyre: we thus find very frequently Abdmilcart and Bodmilcart; and occasionally Milcartcheles and Amtmilcart. Names derived from Astort or Ashtoreth, the Syrian name for the Great Goddess, are likewise common, such are Amtastort, Bodastort, Gadastort, Gerastort, Astortjitten. We also find Esmun, the Phœnician Æsculapius, whom we know to have had a temple on the Byrsa at Carthage, in the names Bodesmun, Abdesmun, Esmunjitten, Esmunshamar. The name of Baal also frequently occurs: thus we have Baaljitten, Baalhanna, Baalazer, Merbal, Abdnibal, Hanabal, Azerbal, Metenbal. Singularly enough, names compounded with Tanith, the goddess to whom these inscriptions are dedicated, are extremely rare; among those received from Mr. Davis it seems to occur only once, viz. Abdtanith. Among other names we find very commonly Magon, Hanno, Hamilcat, Abda, and Aris.

Among the names which I have mentioned above, and which include, I believe, the greater part of those found in the inscriptions, we can easily recognise some familiar to us in Punic or Phœnician history, such as Hannibal, Bomilcar, Bodostor or Bostor, Hamilcar,[b] Asdrubal, Hanno, and Magon, which recall to us the great actors in the Punic wars; and also Merbal, Gerostratus, Balcazar, Abdæus, and Abdastartus, whose names are met with among the kings of Tyre, &c. The inscriptions usually mention three generations, and occasionally four, but none go further. Of the tablets engraved above, No. 1 records the vow of a female, Amtmilcart, daughter of ————; No. 2, the vow of Arisem, son of Abdmilcart.

[a] It should be stated that on one of the tablets sent to England by Mr. Davis, the first six words of the formula are wanting, the whole inscription reading, "The vow of Aris;" but, as above it is a representation of Tanith, it evidently belongs to the same category as the others. It will also be observed that in tablet No. 1 a letter ע is inserted between מ and נ, probably by a blunder of the sculptor, who seems to have commenced writing בעל.

[b] This is, no doubt, the same as the Hamilcat of the inscriptions, which would answer to the Ἀμίλκας of the Greeks, the form Ἀμίλκαρ occurring in Appian only. The derivation from Melcarth suggested by Gesenius seems doubtful.

In a few of the inscriptions discovered by Mr. Davis the proper names are followed by a short formula which does not appear to have been hitherto noticed in inscriptions from Carthage, although it has been found in tablets from other places, such as the pedestals from Malta which will be more fully described hereafter, and on several of the inscriptions in the later form of Phœnician, which, from the localities where some of them have been found, Gesenius has termed Numidian.

In its complete form this part of the inscription consists of the following letters:

כישמע קלא תברכא

though occasionally the formula terminates at the seventh character; in the Maltese inscription, there being two votaries, we find מ (mem) instead of א (aleph). This Gesenius translates, "Ubi audiverit vocem eorum benedicat eis." Judas renders it, "Ex præcepto maledixerunt aut benedixerunt." De Saulcy, who has entered minutely into the consideration of the formula,[a] translates it, "Dès qu'il a entendu leur voix il les bénit." We may therefore fairly conclude that the words have been added to some of the Carthaginian inscriptions, as an invocation of blessings on the person for whom the stones were erected.

The above remarks will suffice to give some idea of the tenor of the inscriptions on these curious tablets. I have not attempted to go more fully into their details, partly because I do not possess the necessary acquirements for the purpose, and partly because the Trustees of the British Museum have sanctioned the publication of fac-similes of all the Phœnician inscriptions in the National Collection. I trust ere long to see the first part of the work appear under the able editorship of my colleague Mr. Vaux, whose knowledge of oriental languages, and whose paleographic studies will enable him to do more complete justice to these interesting remains.

There are some points however as to the tablets on which it may be desirable to make a few observations, viz. the purpose for which they were made; the divinities whose names they bear; the devices engraved upon them; and the age to which they probably belong.

As to the purpose for which they were made; I have stated that the general opinion of commentators is in favour of interpreting the words אש נדר as in some way implying a vow. But M. Judas, in his interesting treatise on the Phœnician

[a] Recherches sur les Inscriptions Votives Phéniciennes et Puniques, in Annali del Inst. di Corr. Archæol. xvii. (1845) p. 68.

and Lybian languages, has arrived at the conclusion that those words mean a tomb or sepulchre, relying partly on the not unfrequent occurrence of a human hand among the devices on the tablets; which he considers analogous to the expression in the Hebrew scriptures[a] for the pillar or tomb of Absalom. The use of the hand as expressing supplication might be sufficient to account for its presence on votive tablets. An inscription, or rather two similar inscriptions, found at Malta,[b] and engraved apparently on the bases of two candelabra, seem to decide the question beyond all doubt. Those inscriptions, which are exactly alike, are bilingual—Greek and Phœnician. The Greek is as follows:

ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ ΟΙ
ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΥΡΙΟΙ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ.

This evidently records the dedication, no doubt in performance of a vow, of the inscribed objects by Dionysius and Sarapion, sons of Sarapion, Tyrians, to Hercules the Founder; and it contains nothing which can be regarded as sepulchral. The Phœnician inscription reads, "To our Lord Melcarth, God of Tyre, the vow of [איש נדר] thy servant Abdosir and his brother Osirshamar, both sons of Osirshamar, son of Abdosir." Then follows the formula which we have noticed above as invoking blessings on the votaries. It will be remembered that איש נדר are the words on the Carthaginian inscriptions, and therefore indicate their votive character.

We have no means of determining in what way these votive tablets were used; they may have been let either into the walls or into the floor, or have been simply deposited in some consecrated building or grove. Future discoveries may possibly throw some light on this subject.

We have next to consider the divinities to whom the tablets were dedicated; viz. Tanith-Penbaal, and Baal-Hamon,—a subject to be approached with some diffidence, as speculations relating to mythology, especially if they involve questions of etymology, are generally far from satisfactory. For the divinities, and particularly the oriental, were usually personifications of some principles of nature. In the lapse of time, what was originally one divinity, having been the object of worship in different places, came to receive distinct attributes and names. Then the love of novelty, political circumstances, or other accidents brought in as a

[a] 2 Samuel, xviii. 18.

[b] One of the inscriptions is in the Public Library at Malta, the other at Paris. Engraved in Gesenius, tab. 6, and numerous other works.

new divinity a different local form of one already worshipped in that place; while on the other hand some casual resemblance may have caused divinities of very different origins to be regarded as one.

The name of Tanith occurs on a bilingual inscription found at Athens shortly before the year 1797, and preserved in the United Service Museum.[a] It is on the tombstone of a Sidonian named in the Greek inscription Artemidorus (the gift of Artemis). In the Phœnician inscription his name is Abdtanith (the servant of Tanith). This shows that when the tombstone was executed, which was probably about three centuries before Christ, Tanith was looked upon as the Greek Artemis; not, however, the goddess of the chase, the Diana of the Romans, but the oriental Artemis, the Great Goddess of eastern nations.

She was, no doubt, the Ἄρτεμις Ἀναΐτις whom, according to Pausanias,[b] the Lydians worshipped; and she was, possibly, the Ἄρτεμις Περσίκη before whose temple the same people erected a statue of Adrastus.[c] Plutarch, in the life of Artaxerxes II.,[d] tells us of that monarch having made Aspasia priestess of Artemis Anaitis at Ecbatana (τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις ἣν Ἀνείτιν καλοῦσιν). This agrees with the account given by Clement of Alexandria,[e] on the authority of Berosus, that Artaxerxes II. introduced into his dominions the adoration of images instead of fire-worship; and, after setting up the image of Aphrodite Tanais at Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, caused her to be worshipped by the Persians and Bactrians, as well as by the people of Damascus and Sardes. This passage serves to identify Tanith with Aphrodite as well as with Artemis. Strabo tells us that the Medes and Armenians practised the sacred rites of the Persians, especially the Armenians, who worshipped Tanais.[f] We learn from the same author, how extensively the *cultus* of the goddess prevailed in the East, from there being a temple of Anea,[g] near Arbela; and he tells us that the Persians, to commemorate their victory over the Sacæ at Zela in Cappadocia, raised a mound by heaping up earth round a natural rock, so as to give it the appearance of a hill, and erected upon it a temple to Anaitis and the gods worshipped with her (συμβώμων θεῶν), Omanes and Anadatus, Persian divinities.[h] If this Anaitis be

[a] Gesenius, tab. 9, No. v.

[b] Pausanias, iii. c. xvi. 6.

[c] Pausanias, vii. c. vi 4.

[d] cap. xxvii.

[e] Clem. Alex. Protrept. v.

[f] Strabo, xi. 14, 16. Most editions of Strabo read here Ἀναΐτιδος, but, as the greater part of the MSS. read Ταναΐδος, the latter reading seems preferable, and it agrees better with the Phœnician form, Tanith.

[g] τῇ Ἀνέας ἱερὸν. Strabo, xvi. 1, 4.

[h] Strabo, xi. 8, 4.

the Cappadocian goddess whose worship, according to Plutarch, was introduced into Rome about the time of Sylla, and who appeared in a dream to that general, Plutarch's account enables us to identify her with the Moon, Minerva, and Bellona.[a]

Some writers have derived the name of Tanith from that of the Egyptian goddess Neith, by prefixing to it the feminine article τα. In a papyrus published by Champollion, Venus is described as Neith in the East country.[b] Mr. Birch remarks that Neith appears from her titles to be a secondary manifestation of Maut, the Juno of the Egyptian Pantheon, and was probably the same as the goddess called in hieroglyphics the female Amoun or Amoun-ti.[c] She is also entitled Mother of the Sun, and the Great Mother. The Greeks identified Neith with their Athene or Minerva, which would agree very well with the title Pen-Baal (Face or Manifestation of Baal) given to Tanais; for Minerva was said to have sprung from the head of Jupiter.[d]

There would not be much difficulty in identifying Tanith with all the principal goddesses of the Greeks and Romans. She was, in fact, that early object of superstition, the Moon. The description of the latter by Apuleius in his Golden Ass[e] agrees remarkably with her multifarious attributes; and his statements, though savouring of the Pantheistic syncretism of later times, are well deserving of consideration as coming from an African who had been educated at Carthage, where he received the honour of having a statue erected to him.

In the romance of the Golden Ass the hero, Lucius, towards the close of his numerous adventures under the form of an ass, escapes to the sea-shore and lies down on the sands to sleep. In the midst of the night he wakes in sudden terror, and sees the full moon rising in unusual splendour. On being aware of the presence of this great goddess (summatem Deam), he determines to address her. "Regina Cœli," he begins, and, after invoking her under various titles, he begs her to free him from the brute form in which he is inclosed. The goddess, in answer, appears to him in full majesty, and thus speaks: "En adsum," she begins, "tuis commota precibus, rerum Natura parens, elementorum omnium domina, sæculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, regina Manium, prima cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque facies uniformis; quæ cœli

[a] Σελήνην οὖσαν εἴτε Ἀθηνᾶν εἴτε Ἐννώ. Plut. Sylla, ix. 6.

[b] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, notes to Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 537.

[c] Arundale and Bonomi, Gallery of Antiquities selected from the British Museum, with descriptions by S. Birch, p. 12.

[d] The title Pen-Baal seems similar in form to the Hebrew name Penuel (פנואל), Face of God. It agrees very well with the passage from Apuleius, "Deorum Dearumque facies uniformis."

[e] Metamorph. lib. xi. 238.

luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferorum deplorata silentia, nutibus meis dispenso. Cujus numen unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Pessinunticam nominant Deum matrem; hinc Autochtones Attici Cecropiam Minervam; illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem; Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam; Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam; Eleusinii vetustam Deam Cererem: Junonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi; et qui nascentis Dei Solis inchoantibus illustrantur radiis Æthiopes, Ariique, priscaque doctrina pollentes Ægyptii, cærimoniis me propriis percolentes, appellant vero nomine Reginam Isidem." After thus setting forth her titles, she gives him directions how to rid himself of his asinine form, and exhorts him to become one of her priests.

There can be little doubt then that Tanith is to be looked upon as the great goddess of Carthage, the Cœlestis, Urania, or Juno of the Romans.[a] Her temple is supposed to have been situated on an eminence in close proximity to the Hill of St. Louis or Byrsa, and a little to the north of it, near a spot marked by Falbe No. 53. It was of great size and magnificence, surrounded by shrines dedicated to all the gods related to her.[b] The *hieron* or sacred inclosure was in Roman times no less than two miles in extent. It would even appear from Silius Italicus and others, that it contained the temple and grove of Kronos or Saturn. In A.D. 399 this *hieron*, which had been long closed, and become overgrown with thorny bushes, was cleared out, and the temple consecrated to Christ, the Bishop Aurelius placing his seat on the spot once occupied by the statue of Cœlestis. During the reign of Constantius III. (A.D. 421) all the temples were rased, and the ground converted into a cemetery.[c] The street leading to the shrine and temple, which had been known as the Via Cœlestis, was shortly afterwards destroyed by the Vandals.[d]

The continuous worship of the goddess of Carthage may perhaps be inferred from the history of her veil or *peplos*. In the Mirabiles Auscultationes, usually ascribed to Aristotle, we find the following passage:[e]—"They say that a garment was made for Alcimenes, the Sybarite, of such magnificence, that at the Panegyry

[a] St. Ambrose says, "Quem Cœlestem Afri, Mitram Persæ, plerique Venerem colunt pro diversitate nominis, non pro numinis varietate." Epist. 1, xviii. 30. See also Herodian, lib. v.

[b] "Omnium deorum suorum ædibus vallatum." Liber de promissis et prædictionibus, part iii. c. xxxviii. 44; ascribed to S. Prosper of Aquitaine, and printed with his works.

[c] Liber de prom. et prædict., part iii. c. xxxviii. The writer seems to have been present at the consecration.

[d] Victor Vitensis, De Persec. Vandal. lib. i. c. iii.

[e] Mirab. Ausc. No. xcvi. Some editions read "Alcisthenes." See also Athenæus, lib. xii. c. 58, who adds that it was described by Polemo in a treatise on the sacred garments at Carthage.

of Juno at the Lacinian promontory, to which all the Italians go, it was of all the things exhibited the one most admired. This, they say, came into the possession of Dionysius the Elder, and was sold by him to the Carthaginians for 120 talents. It was purple, and fifteen cubits in size; it had bands above and below with figures of animals woven in, those above being Susian, those below Persian. In the midst were Jupiter, Juno, Themis, Minerva, Apollo, and Venus, and at each end was Alcimenes, and on each side Sybaris." The *peplos* was no doubt taken to Rome on the destruction of Carthage, and reconveyed to Carthage by the colony established by Gracchus, which from its name, Junonia, in all probability greatly venerated the goddess. On the occasion of the extraordinary marriage celebrated by Elagabalus between his god Baal and the Cœlestis of Carthage, the *peplos*, no doubt, accompanied the statue of the goddess to Rome. It was certainly taken back to Carthage, as we learn from Trebellius Pollio[a] that the Africans on proclaiming Celsus emperor invested him with it. Its ultimate fate is unknown; but the history we have of it is useful as serving to show the identity of the Dea Cœlestis with the old Punic divinity.

With regard to Baal-Hamon, the other divinity to whom the tablets are dedicated, he is doubtless the Belsamen mentioned in the Pœnulus of Plautus.[b] His name is probably derived from that of Amoun-Ra, the Egyptian Jupiter, and he was the god Ammon whose worship prevailed so extensively in Africa. He has also been identified with the god Omanes, whom we have mentioned as associated with Anaitis in the temple at Zela in Cappadocia, and who shared the rites of the same goddess in Persia.[c] Like Amoun-Ra he was the chief of the gods and the Sun. Selden remarks,[d] "Amanus sane Sol erat, ni fallor, ut Anaitis Luna." As chief of the gods he would be identified by the Greeks with Jupiter, and as the Sun with Apollo. Münter[e] seems disposed to look upon him not only as Apollo, but also as Moloch or Saturn. This agrees with a passage in Damascius,[f] who says Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον Ἦλ, καὶ Βὴλ, καὶ Βωλαθὴν ἐπονομάζουσι.[g] The historians[h] tell us that Hannibal took his vow of eternal hatred to Rome

[a] Hist. Aug. Script. Triginta Tyranni; de Celso.

[b] Act v. sc. 2, 67.

[c] Strabo, xv. 3, 15.

[d] De Diis Syris, synt. ii. c. viii.

[e] Religion der Karthager, p. 8.

[f] Damascius, Vita Isidori; in Photii Bibliotheca, cod. 242.

[g] Nonnus, Dionysiaca xl. Bacchus, addressing Hercules-Astrochiton, or the Sun, says (l. 392)—

Βῆλος ἐπ' Εὐφρήταο, Λίβυς κεκλημένος Ἄμμων,
Ἄπις ἔφυς Νειλῶος, Ἄραψ Κρόνος, Ἀσσύριος Ζεύς.

and further on (l. 401),

Ἡέλιος Βαβυλῶνος, ἐν Ἑλλάδι Δελφὸς Ἀπόλλων.

[h] Polybius, iii. 11; Corn. Nepos, Hannibal, cap. 2.

when with his father Hamilcar in the temple of Jupiter, where the latter was performing the customary sacrifices previously to taking the command in Spain. This, no doubt, was at the temple of the god Baal; while Silius seems to indicate that the event took place in the temple of Saturn.[a] Here were kept the archives of the Republic. What more appropriate place could there be for so solemn a sacrifice? On the other hand, if Baal-Hamon can be identified with Helios or Apollo, his temple was situated at no great distance from the Forum; for when Scipio, having made himself master of the Cothon and Forum, was encamping in the latter, preparatory to commencing his attack on the Byrsa, his soldiery broke into the neighbouring temple of Apollo, and cut off with their swords the gold plates which covered the statue and shrine of the god.[b] The statue seems to have been carried to Rome, and to have been placed in the Circus, where it remained in the time of Plutarch.[c] Falbe and Dureau de la Malle place the temple of Saturn to the west of the supposed site of the temple of Juno, led, perhaps, to do so by the inscribed tablets having been found at Malkah. If the temple of Apollo mentioned by Appian and the temple of Saturn noticed by Roman writers should ultimately prove to be the same, it should be looked for to the east, between the site of the temple of Juno and the sea; which would likewise place it near the Forum, and not far from the spot where the inscribed tablets were found by Mr. Davis. This would agree equally well with a passage in the Acts of St. Cyprian;[d] where we are told that he was in the custody of the *strator* of the Proconsul, who lived "in vico qui dicitur Saturni, inter Veneream et Salutariam," that is, between the temples or streets of Cœlestis and Æsculapius. This street was also called Vicus Senis, possibly from a superstitious dread of mentioning the ancient god whose grove and temple were the scene in Punic and even in Roman times of human sacrifices.

If the two divinities jointly mentioned in the inscriptions be the Cœlestis and Saturn of the Romans, we can understand the temple of the latter having been in the *hieron* of the former deity. This combined worship of the Sun and Moon has been alluded to in the case of Anaitis and Omanes as worshipped in Persia. At Dodona Dione was associated with Zeus; at Coronæa we hear of Hades being associated with Minerva, *κατά τινα, ὥς φασι, μυστικὴν αἰτίαν*.[f] Lucian, in his treatise De Dea Syria, speaks of Jupiter and Juno being worshipped together

[a] Silius Italicus, Punica, lib. i. 80.

[b] Appian, viii. 127.

[c] Vita Flaminini, c. i. He tells us that the statue of Flamininus stood *παρὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου*.

[d] S. Augustin. de consensu Evang. lib. i. c. xxiii. 36.

[e] Acta Proconsularia S. Cypriani, c. ii.

[f] Strabo, ix. 2, 29.

at Hierapolis in Syria, and gives some curious details as to the rites and other matters connected with them. In the greater number of the cases above mentioned the goddess seems to have been the principal divinity.

It would be an interesting subject of investigation, if the materials for it were within our reach, whether the Sun and Moon were originally worshipped by the Carthaginians under the names of Tanith and Baal-Hamon. Both names, being probably of Egyptian origin, may have been adopted by the Phœnicians in consequence of their intimate relations with Egypt, and have taken the places of Ashtoreth and Moloch, the more ancient names of the same divinities. The worship of Tanais received, as we have seen, a great extension under the influence of Artaxerxes II., who reigned from B.C. 405 to 362; and it is remarkable that from his contemporary, Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse from B.C. 405 to 357, the Carthaginians obtained the magnificent *peplos* of their goddess, as before mentioned, for the large sum of 120 talents.

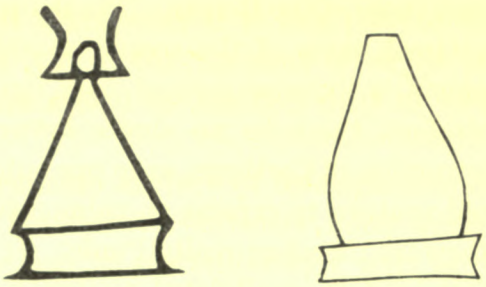
On some of the tablets the inscriptions are accompanied by various ornaments and symbols, sometimes scratched with a sharp point, sometimes sculptured in low relief. The ornaments consist generally of rude representations of egg and tongue mouldings, rosettes, fleurons of honeysuckle-pattern, or wreaths. Among the symbols the most remarkable and common is one of a triangular form surmounted by a circle and two curved arms, which is supposed to represent the goddess Tanith. An example may be seen on tablet No. 1, given on a previous page; other varieties[a] are shown in the accompanying woodcuts Nos. 3 and 4, and two exactly alike may be found in fig. 5, which is the fragment of a votive tablet, erected by Abdesmun, son of Bodmilcart. On this tablet the images of the goddess seem to be supported on the slender stems of the lotus, an appropriate ornament, as the Egyptian goddess Neith had a lotus sceptre. These several forms make it probable that, like the Paphian Venus, the image of Tanith was a conical stone made to take a human semblance by some rude additions.[b] In tablet No. 6 we see the hand alluded to above as possibly signifying a vow; it is placed between figures of the moon and sun as symbols of the two divinities; this tablet is dedicated by Hanibal, son of [Bod]esmun. On one of the tablets are two fishes, animals described by Lucian as sacred to the goddess of Hierapolis,[c] as they were also to Athor the Egyptian Venus. One more symbol

[a] One of these (fig. 4) is not unlike the representation of Baal as worshipped at Emesa.

[b] On the worship of conical stones, see Münter, *Der Tempel der himmlischen Göttin zu Paphos*, 1824; Lajard, *Mémoire sur le Culte de Venus*, Acad. des Inscrip. 1833; Akerman, The Stone-worship of the Ancients, 1838.

[c] De Dea Syria, 45.

remains to be noticed, which is to be seen on tablet No. 1 on each side of the figure of Tanith. It seems to be a caduceus, and most likely is intended for a symbol of Baal-Hamon. On a tablet of late workmanship found in Africa, and now preserved in the Museum at Narbonne, is a votive inscription to Baal-Hamon, and above it a figure, most probably of the god, carrying a caduceus.[a] The same symbol may be seen in the hand of a figure on a tablet, likewise of late workmanship, now in the British Museum; the inscription is unfortunately wanting, but above it appears the sun. A caduceus likewise occurs above a



No. 3. No. 4.
Representations of the Goddess Tanith.
Half Scale.

No. 5. Votive tablet, from Carthage.
Height 4¼ in., width 4 in.

No. 6. Votive tablet, from Carthage.
Height 9 in., width 4¾ in.

representation of a temple of Jupiter on a coin of the emperor Philip, struck at Heliopolis.[b]

[a] Annali del Inst. di Corr. Arch. vol. xix. p. 192, tav. I.

[b] Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica, fig. 35.

The only question that remains to be discussed is the age of the inscribed tablets, a point on which none of the commentators have expressed an opinion. Are they Punic—that is, anterior to the destruction of Carthage—or are they of the Roman period? On comparing the characters on them with those on coins and other remains, we find that, although they do not possess the angularity of the earliest examples, they have none of the carelessness of later Phœnician letters. There is no perceptible difference between them and the famous inscription found at Marseilles,[a] which from its very nature is evidently of considerable antiquity. The names are likewise purely Phœnician. On examining the ornaments engraved on the tablets we shall perceive that they resemble more closely the later works of the Greek school than those of the Roman. The fleurons or honeysuckle ornaments are like those on Greek vases of the second or third century before Christ. The form of the tablets is likewise derived from Greek rather than from Roman models. If, therefore, there be no choice between assigning them to a period anterior to the destruction of Carthage, or to one subsequent to the rebuilding by Augustus, I would venture to express an opinion that they belong to the former period, and that they are therefore really Punic. It is, however, possible that Carthage was not so utterly annihilated as has been generally supposed, and that these rude works may have been the votive offerings of such of its Punic inhabitants as lingered among its ruins.

Such are the tablets of which Mr. Davis has had the good fortune to discover the largest number that have been brought to light at Carthage, and which seem to be the only remains that can claim to be of Punic origin. The antiquities to be hereafter described are all of Roman workmanship.

II. *Fragments of Architecture and Sculpture.*

Two Arabic authors, Abou-Obaid Bekri, and El-Edrisi, who wrote during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, describe some of the public buildings of Carthage as then standing, and as being remarkable for the profusion of their sculptured ornaments;[b] and we learn from other sources that some of these decorations remained till the sixteenth century. Every vestige, however, has now disappeared. M. Falbe tells us that the Pisans carried off shiploads of sculpture and marble to decorate their cathedral,[c] and the Genoese seem to have followed their example. Carthage, in fact, was resorted to as a large quarry. The walls and houses of

[a] Judas, *Etude de la Langue Phénicienne*, pl. xxvii.

[b] Dureau de la Malle, *Topographie de Carthage*, p. 36.

[c] *Recherches sur l' Emplacement de Carth.* p. 12.

Tunis are, no doubt, chiefly built out of its ruins. In 1837 Sir Thomas Reade, then English Consul at Tunis, discovered some marble columns with sculptured capitals, and numerous fragments of statues and architectural decorations,[a] some of which have found their way to the British Museum. In 1843 a colossal female head, about six feet high, was discovered by M. de la Porte in making the foundations of the chapel of St. Louis,[b] and now adorns the Louvre.

The remains of sculpture brought to light by Mr. Davis are not very numerous. The most remarkable of them is a female statue of grey Parian marble, obtained near El Mersa. Several portions of statues seem to represent Apollo; and a fragment of a bas-relief in a fine style, and boldly sculptured, may be referred to the same divinity, and possibly ornamented a Roman temple.

III. *Mosaic Pavements.*

Among the remains of Roman buildings there are few objects of greater interest than the tessellated work with which the floors were decorated. The materials of which they are composed suffer but little from the effects of time, and offer but few temptations to the spoiler; so that frequently the mosaic floor has survived the walls and architectural decorations, and is the sole trace that remains to indicate the elegance of the structure that once occupied the spot.

Several such pavements have at various times been brought to light at Carthage, and many more must have been destroyed unnoticed. Falbe discovered in 1824 a mosaic, about thirty feet square, near the sea-side, but the jealousy of another European suggested to the Bey that treasures were probably concealed beneath it, and caused the destruction of the whole. About 1838 an association was formed for the purpose of making excavations in Carthage, which led to the discovery of another house near the sea-side, ornamented with paintings in the Pompeian style, and with mosaics representing men and animals;[c] some of these seem to have been transported to France. It was as one of the subscribers to this enterprise that Mr. Hudson Gurney, then a Vice-President of our Society, obtained a fine fragment of a mosaic, which, with his usual liberality, he presented to the British Museum in 1844. It is the lower part of the head of a marine deity, of colossal size, and has been executed with great skill and breadth of design. An engraving of it may be found in Monumenti Inediti, vol. v., tav. xxxviii. Dr. Emil Braun, who has

[a] Bullet. del Inst. di Corrisp. Archæol. 1837, p. 47.

[b] Bullet. del Inst. di Corrisp. Archæol. 1853, p. 60. Engraved in Revue Archéol. tom. ix. pl. 184, p. 88

[c] Bullet. del Inst. di Corrisp. Archæol. 1838, p. 76.

described it in the Annali del Instituto, considered the head to represent the Triton, Glaucus, being chiefly led to do so by the leaves which form part of the hair.[a] Were the head complete, we might, perhaps, find lobster's claws projecting from it like horns, as in the beautiful bronze head in the British Museum from the Payne Knight Collection.[b] On comparing, however, these figures with a head in the mosaic pavement at Frampton in Dorsetshire,[c] which is inscribed NEPTUNI VERTEX, it is not improbable that the mosaic from Carthage represents Neptune himself.

In 1844 another pavement was discovered during excavations made by the Tunisian Government in search of stone for the canal at Goletta. It was found near the spot marked by Falbe in his map as No. 54, and considered by him to be the site of the Temple of Apollo mentioned by Appian. Dureau de la Malle, however, prefers placing at this point the baths of Gargilius. The pavement was twenty-six feet by sixteen, and of late date.[d] The ornaments were distributed in compartments, alternately circular and lozenge-shaped, and chiefly consisted of scenes of the chase. At one end four panels, side by side, contained each of them the representation of a man in a chariot with his name over it, probably the victors in some races. The names seem to be Be . e. . us, Cuiriacus, Ciprianus, and Ce[le]rius, and testify to the late date of the pavement; which is probably not anterior to the fourth or fifth century. The pavement was given by the Bey to the French Consul-General, M. de Lazan, and some portions of it were transported to France, while others were placed in the buildings which surround the chapel of St. Louis.

Mr. Davis has been peculiarly fortunate in his searches for mosaics, and has transmitted a considerable quantity of them to the British Museum, which had till then been very deficient in such remains. The pavements had of course to be divided into compartments to enable them to be safely packed. In the removal of them Mr. Davis showed great skill, and, in consequence of the precautions which he took, they all reached this country uninjured. The process which he adopted in removing them will be best explained in his own words:—

"I glued common canvas upon a small piece of mosaic, and, when quite dry, I severed it with very great care from its ancient cement by means of knives and chisels, and placed it with the reverse side upwards in a case previously prepared for it. I filled the case with fresh cement, and screwed the top on

[a] An engraving may also be found in the Illustrated London News, Jan. 6, 1849, where the pavement is misdescribed as being from Athens.

[b] Specimens of Ancient Sculpture published by the Dilettante Society, vol. i. pl. lv. lvi.

[c] Lysons, Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ, vol. i. pt. 3, pl. v.

[d] An engraving of this pavement may be found in Revue Archéologique, vol vii. pl. 143.

it. In this state I left it for about ten hours. The case was then turned over, so that what was before the bottom became the top; the lid was unscrewed, the canvas cautiously removed by means of hot water, and the remains of the glue carefully cleaned off the marble. The experiment having answered so well, I set to work the following day with greater confidence, and succeeded, after twenty-nine days of assiduous labour, in removing the whole of the mosaics upon canvas. In the course of these operations, I became so confident in my method that I have taken up, and most successfully, one piece nearly 12 feet in length by 3 in breadth."

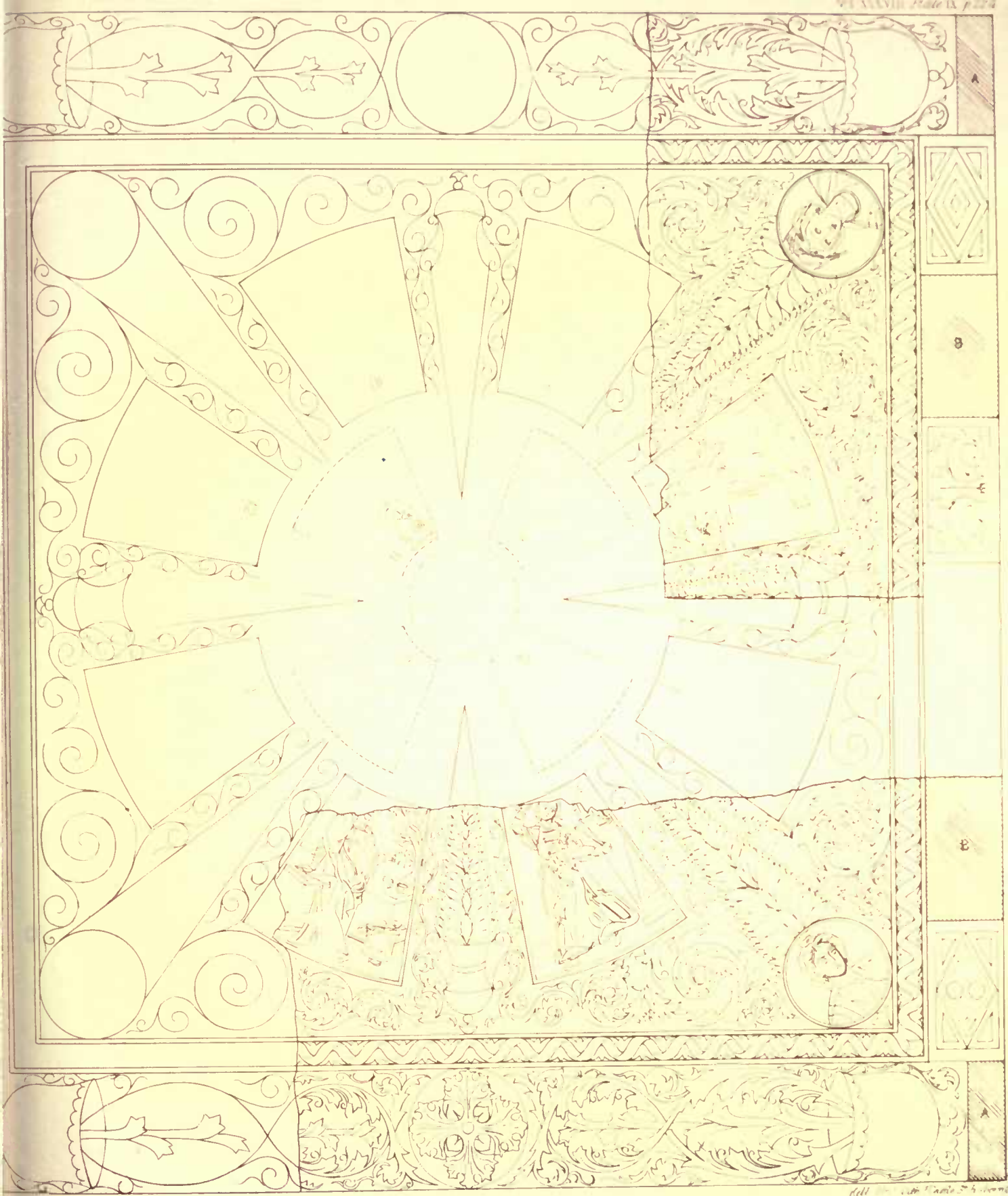
The pavements were found at seven spots during the excavations, and may be grouped as follows :—

1. Two portions of a very remarkable square pavement, discovered apparently at no great distance from the spot marked No. 86 in Falbe's map, where he places ruins indicating the line of a street. The mosaic was covered with ten feet of soil, and the workmen had to break through three distinct floors. It was found imperfect, as will be seen by the accompanying plan, Pl. IX. It had suffered much injury; deep pits had been sunk at two of the corners and in the intervening space; a deep trench had been made across Nos. 2, 5, and 8 by Arabs in search of building materials; and from the centre across Nos. 8 and 9 a broad wall had been built, which had destroyed that portion of the mosaic. The pavement when complete must have been about twenty-eight feet square. I will reserve the full description of it to a later part of this communication.

2. The next discovery of mosaics took place close to the sea-side, at the foot of the slopes under Sidi Bou-Said. At the depth of four feet from the surface was found an interesting fragment, 7 feet by 4 feet, representing a flying figure supporting a tablet, of which the right-hand portion only remained. It has on it the following inscription in white letters on a red ground :—

. . . . . NC FVNDAMENTA
. . . . . TEM DEDICAVIMVS
. . . . . TIBIDETE ☩ AMICI FLOREN
. . . . . DEVM INVOCANTEM ☩ QVI
. . . . . VIT GAVDENTES ☩
. . . . . DOMINVS TE EXALTA
. . . . . ☩ FASTILANEM IN MIN
. . . . . CONSVMMAVIT GAVDENS
. . . . . E M T E M

None of the lines being perfect, we are unable to determine their length; and



PLAN OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM CARTHAGE

the purport of the inscription is consequently far from clear. Perhaps we may restore the commencement thus, "Basilicam hanc fundamenta tenus labentem dedicavimus;" but the constant changes of persons in the remainder render it very obscure; the word *fastilanem* may be connected with *fastella*, which Ducange explains as *ligamen*. Below the inscription are two youths holding in their right hands wreaths, and in their left fans with long handles. The style of art shown in this mosaic and the character of the inscription seem to belong to the fourth century after Christ.[a] Three feet below it there was found another pavement with a pattern only; and six inches below that a third pavement of an elegant geometrical design. The spot where the discovery took place is to the north of a ruin marked by Falbe No. 72, which he considers a gate of Carthage. If it were so, the mosaics belonged to some building outside the walls of the city.

3. The third mosaic was found in a bean-field to the east of the hill of St. Louis, and not far from the spot where the Punic tablets were discovered. The central portion consists of representations of a basket full of fish, and a wooden hod filled with fruit: these designs are executed in very vivid colours, some of the tesseræ being of glass; round it is a wave pattern. The rest of the mosaic is pure white with a twisted border in colours. The whole is very elegant, and must have given a cool appearance to the room in which it was placed.

4. On the range of high ground between the hill of St. Louis and Sidi Bou-Said, Mr. Davis discovered the site of a Roman house, in which, at a depth of ten feet, several mosaic pavements were found. Mr. Davis informs us that on the walls were faint remains of fresco paintings, and in one of the chambers or rather alcoves he found the lower portion, about a foot in depth, lined with thin slabs of white marble. The pavements were chiefly of geometrical pattern, and good in style and execution.

5. The next excavation in which mosaics were brought to light was on high ground, opposite to the Turkish fort Burj-Jedid, and overlooking the smaller cisterns for rain-water, from which it was distant about 200 paces. "Having nothing to guide me," says Mr. Davis, "above ground, I opened a series of zigzag trenches, and in the course of a few days we came upon remains of ancient architecture. At one place we came upon four tombs at about four or five feet from the surface. From the position of the tombs it was evident that they were neither Moslem nor Christian; and a few Roman coins and a

[a] Mosaics of a similar date, with inscriptions, do not appear to be uncommon in North Africa. See Rénier, *Inscriptions Romaines de l' Algérie*, Nos. 3700, 3701, 4057, 4058. Amé, *Carrelages émaillés*, p. 15.

sepulchral lamp found in them fixed their origin beyond all doubt. Nine feet below the tombs we came upon the mosaic pavement." To this pavement Mr. Davis seems disposed for various reasons to assign a Punic origin; but it is undoubtedly of Roman workmanship and not of an early period. The design, consisting of large circles inclosed in interlaced quadrangles, is effective and good; but the execution is coarse, and the colouring and material poor.[a] "At this excavation," he says, "we cleared a suite of eight chambers, all on the same level, and running from N.E. to S.W. In the latter direction was a well and the pavement above-named; adjoining which we found three fragments of mosaic.[b] I may here mention that upon all these pavements we found a layer of cinders and coals, and every indication that fire contributed to the destruction of these buildings. Next to this room we came upon a small chamber measuring only eight feet square. Here we found a mosaic, and upon it human bones. The room near this was about the same size, and contained two graves." Near these chambers some other mosaics were discovered, with cruciform patterns, and of inferior execution to the others. The most interesting of them represents two deer drinking at a fountain.

6. The next pavement was found on the hill at Gamart, the ancient necropolis of Carthage. It may have belonged to some Roman mausoleum, such decorations occurring in several instances on the Via Appia, near Rome. The patterns consist of a series of vases of elegant form joined together by arches, and possibly intended to represent ornamental fountains; between them are birds in brilliant colours, glass tesseræ being employed. In one place is the inscription FONTES. The workmanship is coarse and not of early date.

7. The last series of pavements was found to the north of the peninsula, close to the beach, and only ten feet above the level of the sea. "It required," says Mr. Davis, "the greatest care to clear the sand from this pavement, and the minutest attention was necessary in cleaning it for removal. The sand which covered it having been saturated by the heavy rains, and the sea, having lashed over it for several centuries, had loosened it almost completely from its cement. However, by dint of great exertion and attention, I succeeded in removing it and in embedding it in fresh cement. We were obliged to build a temporary wall on the side of the sea to secure standing-room for the men, to enable us to remove it successfully."

[a] They greatly resemble the patterns on a mosaic from Cirencester, engraved in Lysons' Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ, vol. ii. pt. i. pl. v.

[b] These three fragments are very good in design, being ornamented with hexagons formed by interlacing wreaths alternately orange and green, and inclosing small circles; the border is plaited.

FIG 2 MARCH

The pavement, however, was well worthy of the attention bestowed on it, and is, probably, among the finest which Mr. Davis found at Carthage. One compartment represents a sea-piece, with dolphins, tritons, and sea-nymphs. The remainder is ornamented with square panels containing female busts, and separated from each other by a delicate framework of vine-leaves. The general effect is very pleasing; the pavement does not, however, seem of early date, and has many tesseræ in coloured glass.

Having thus enumerated the various sets of mosaics with which Mr. Davis's excavations have enriched the Museum, I will proceed to describe the great mosaic (No. 1), which was discovered first, and furnishes the subjects of the accompanying illustrations.

It will be seen from the plan (Plate IX.) that only two portions of this pavement have been preserved; but they are of considerable size, and enable us to form some idea of the design of all but the central part. It consists of a square of 23 feet, having on each of two of its sides an oblong compartment representing twining plants growing out of golden vases. In the middle of each of these compartments there has been a circle containing a cruciform pattern. To one of the other sides of the square are attached small compartments, separated from each other by spaces, where the mosaic either has been destroyed or has never existed. The larger spaces (BB) probably mark the site of the rectangular bases of half-columns, while the smaller spaces (AA) at the corners may have borne shallow pilasters. The position of the half-columns has probably determined the size of the square, and prevented the side compartments from forming a continuous broad border.

As to the square itself, the edge is ornamented with an elegant riband pattern. At each corner there was a circular medallion 2ft. 9in. in diameter, inclosing a head; from this proceeded a tapering mass of green leaves, resembling in its general form a cypress. On each side, midway between the medallions, was placed a white vase, probably intended to represent silver, supporting a similar tapering mass of foliage, but of a golden hue. The intervening spaces were each of them occupied by a four-cornered panel, being a section of a broad circular band, and containing a figure. Within this band there has probably been another range of panels of similar form, and, possibly, a circle in the centre; but of this portion of the pavement no part remains, unless it be a fragment which will be presently noticed. From the medallions at the corners sprang scrolls of foliage, filling up all the intervals between the panels and other ornaments just described. The character of these scrolls is shewn by a portion of one of them represented in Plate X. fig. 1.

Three of the panels are nearly perfect,—they are each 4 feet wide at the base, and 4 feet 4 inches high; and a fragment of a fourth has been preserved. One of them (No. 3 in plan, and Plate X. fig. 2) represents a female, draped, and leaning back on a square cippus, on which she rests her right hand. On another cippus in front of her are two cups, and at the foot of it a brazen bucket, on which lies a green branch. From behind the cippus rises a tree, and in it is a swallow, to which the female is pointing with her left hand. The next panel (No. 4 in plan, and Plate XI. fig. 2) represents a female figure dancing before a circular cippus, on which is placed a little statue with a leafy bower behind it. The female is very strangely dressed, her robe being ornamented with dark bands spotted with golden plates, and terminating in barbed tongues, possibly intended to represent snake-like ornaments; she holds in her hands long castanets. The third panel (No. 7 in plan, and Plate XII. fig. 2) represents a female resting with the left elbow on a square cippus, and taking with a stylus some red fruit out of a glass bowl standing on another cippus, above which appears a fruit tree. The fragment (Plate XII. fig. 1) is supposed by Mr. Davis to have belonged to the compartment No. 10, but it was at any rate found beyond the foundations of the wall which has been already mentioned. It represents the upper part of a female figure resting her left arm on a square cippus, and holding in her right hand a sistrum. A portion of the upper edge remains, which is evidently a segment of a smaller circle than those bounding the panels before described; and the figure likewise seems more compressed than the other. I feel, therefore, convinced that it is a portion of one of the inner panels.

The figures in the several panels have been supposed to be priestesses; but there is little doubt that they were intended to represent the Roman months.

In Montfaucon's work "Les Antiquités Expliqués," Supplement, tom. i. Pl. iv.—xvi. are engravings of the illuminations of an ancient calendar preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna.[a] It seems to have been executed for some distinguished person of the name of Valentinus; he is conjectured to have been the Duke of Illyria who was living about A.D. 354. Each of the illuminations represents a month as a human figure accompanied by various emblems. Under each is inscribed a tetrastich attributed to Ausonius, descriptive of the months. The illuminations, it will be seen, contain some symbols which are not alluded to in the poetry.

[a] Published by Lambecius, Bibl. Vind. lib. iv. Appendix; also by Kollar, Analecta Vind. tom. i. p. 946; and in Grævius, Thes. Ant. Rom. tom. viii. p. 96. Another Roman Calendar with illustrations, but imperfect, was published by Bucherius.

The month of March is represented as a man with long hair, clothed in skins; he holds a goat by the neck with his left hand, while with his right he points to a swallow perched on a rod; on the ground to his right is a bucket or pail, from which streams are issuing; on his left a basket-shaped vessel. The lines from Ausonius are as follows:

> Cinctum pelle lupæ promtum est cognoscere mensem,
> Mars illi nomen, Mars dedit exuvias.
> Tempus ver hædus petulans, et garrula hirundo
> Indicat, et sinus lactis, et herba virens.

On comparing this with panel No. 3 on the plan, we find the swallow, two little cups, and the pail, probably intended to hold milk, and a fresh bough for the *herba virens*. The swallow was a well-known type of spring; thus, on a Greek vase[a] are represented two youths and a man conversing: one says, ΙΔΟ ΧΕΛΙΔΟΝ; the man answers, ΝΕ ΤΟΝ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΑ; the other observes, ΗΑΤΤΕΙ; and the man says, ΕΑΡ ΗΕΔΕ.

The month of April is represented in the MS. by a middle-aged man, possibly a priest of Cybele, dancing before a statuette of Venus, which is under an arch of foliage and placed on a bracket. He is clothed in a short dress, ornamented with large metal plates, and holds castanets[b] of great length. Under his feet is a pandean pipe, and before him a large candle burning in an elaborate candelabrum. The lines below are —

> Contectam myrto Venerem veneratur Aprilis,
> Lumen turis habet quo nitet alma Ceres,
> Cereus a dextra flammas diffundet odoras,
> Balsama nec desunt, queis redolet Paphie.

In the mosaic we have the dancing figure with metal plates on the dress, and holding castanets, and the statuette of Venus under a bower of myrtle; the other adjuncts are wanting: but there can be little doubt that the month of April was intended to be represented. The feast of Venus took place on the Kalends of that month, and the Cerealia on the vii. Ides. The figure may probably have been intended for one of the Gaditanian women, to whose skill in dancing and voluptuous movements there are frequent allusions in the Latin poets. They are especially mentioned as using castanets, and were probably *hierodulæ* of the great temple at Gades.

[a] Monumenti Inediti, tom. ii. pl. xxiv. Panofka, Bilder Antikes Lebens, taf. xvii. 6.

[b] Castanets may have been employed in the feasts of Cœlestis, for Lucian tells us that at Hierapolis they worshipped Jupiter in silence; but when the rites of Juno began, they danced with castanets.—De Dea Syria.

The next panel is wanting, but that which followed it remains. The number of outer panels being eight, No. 7, which corresponds in relative position to No. 4, which we have shown to be April, should be July. On looking to the MS., we find this month represented by a naked male figure, holding in his right hand a purse, in his left a shallow basket with fruit; at his feet is a broken object from which coins are falling, and two covered cups. The tetrastich by Ausonius is this:

Ecce coloratos ostentat Julius artus,
Crines cui rutilos spicea serta ligant.
Morus sanguineos præbet gravidata racemos,
Quæ medio Cancri sidere læta viret.

The mosaic has only a portion of these emblems, the shallow vessel with mulberries and the tree from which they have been picked; but in its simplicity it agrees with the other panels.

These three panels, 3, 4, and 7, being identified with the months March, April, and July, we are enabled to determine that the remaining five of the outer band of panels represented January, June, September, October, and December, leaving four months, February, May, August, and November for the inner panels. On looking over the representations of the months in the illuminations, we find only one of them in which a sistrum occurs, and that is November, which is thus represented: A draped figure, with a shaven head, rests against a cippus, on which is placed the head of an animal; he holds a platter with a snake in one hand and a sistrum in the other; at his feet is a goose, and above a pomegranate. The verses are—

Carbaseo surgens post hunc indutus amictu,
Mensis ab antiquis sacra deumque colit,
A quo vix avidus sistro compescitur anser,
Devotusque satis ubera fert humeris.

This evidently represents a priest of Isis, whose feast took place on the Kalends of November.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the mosaic fragment is a portion of a panel representing the month of November; its preservation is a matter of some interest, as it not only shews that there was an internal band of panels, but serves to fix their positions. A panel representing November, to be in its proper place, must have been either over the vase between 9 and 10, or at the spot marked 11; but Mr. Davis informs us that the fragment was discovered beyond the broad wall which passed over the former space, and it must

FIG. 2. JULY

PORTION OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM CARTHAGE

therefore have been at No. 11. This agrees very well with the general design of the pavement, as the masses of foliage springing from the medallions would leave more space for a compartment than those from the vases.

Having described the panels, which furnish us with representations of considerable rarity, the Roman months, we will proceed to notice the medallions in the corners. In one of them, Pl. XI. fig 1, is a female head, of somewhat forbidding aspect, without symbols of any kind. She wears ear-rings, and has a purple stripe in her dress. The other medallion (Pl. XIII) has in it a female head of great beauty, crowned with ears of corn, and wearing a *torques* of gold. There can be little doubt that this represents the season of Summer, and therefore that the other was intended for Spring; although the positions of the medallions do not exactly accord with those of the months: thus March, which should belong to Spring, forms part of the quarter of the pavement which, no doubt, was a representation of Winter. The designer of the pavement may however have divided the year into four quarters, somewhat in our own way, and then placed near each group of three months the most appropriate season.

Representations of the seasons are not rare; they are usually in the form of children carrying appropriate emblems. Such is their appearance on the Imperial coins inscribed TEMPORVM FELICITAS, where four boys are dancing. On a silver *acerra* belonging to Mr. John Webb they appear as boys with appropriate symbols.[a] On the Arch of Severus they are represented as genii with baskets of flowers, fruit,[b] &c. They are figured on a sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection as winged genii, the occupations of each season being indicated below by small groups of figures.[c] On a silver *situla*, found at Tourdan, near Vienne, and now in the British Museum, we find them represented as females seated on various animals.[d] The nearest approach however to the medallions in the mosaic from Carthage is to be found in a pavement discovered in 1849 at Cirencester, the site of the ancient Corinium.[e] At each corner of this pavement was a medallion; three still remain: Spring is represented by the head of a female crowned with flowers, and has a swallow perched on her shoulder; Summer is crowned with corn, and has a sickle; Autumn is crowned with fruit, and has an axe;

[a] Proceedings, Vol. IV. p. 295.

[b] Montfaucon, Ant. Expl. Sup. tom. i. c. iv.

[c] Montfaucon, Ant. Expl. Sup. tom. i. pl. iii.

[d] Proceedings, Vol. IV. p. 294.

[e] Illustrations of the Site of Ancient Corinium, by Prof. Buckman and C. H. Newmarch, Lond. 1850. Arch. Journ. vi. p. 328. Gentleman's Magazine, January 1850.

Winter is lost, but a fragment of a pavement found at Bignor supplies us with a head of this season, muffled up, and with a leafless bough.[a]

The mosaic from Carthage, when perfect, must have had a peculiarly elaborate and rich appearance. The twelve months, encircling possibly a head of Kronos, and the four seasons at the corners, must have formed a pavement well worthy of the hall of some wealthy Roman; and Mr. Davis has done good service to archæology in recovering it from the wreck of the ancient city.

IV. *Minor Antiquities.*

The minor antiquities transmitted to England by Mr. Davis are neither very numerous nor of great importance. They are principally Roman; among them may be noticed a large slender amphora, several other terra cotta vases, and about forty-five lamps. Some of the latter are of a good Roman period, and have curious designs; but the greater number of them are of Byzantine workmanship. Among them may be especially noticed one with a representation of the seven-branched candlestick from the temple of Jerusalem. On four others is the Christian monogram; another has the figure of a youth carrying a hare, probably a symbol of winter. A fragment of a tile bears the stamp of its maker, BARBARVS. The remainder of the objects chiefly consist of bone spoons and pins, marble weights, and fragments of glass and bronze.

Mr. Davis extended his researches to the site of the city of Utica, from which he obtained several interesting pavements. The most curious of these is a semicircular compartment representing a water scene: parallel to the curved side is a long net with floats, held at each end by a party of men in a canoe. In the middle a few stems and a tree are projecting from the water, among which are to be seen various animals, such as a boar, panther, stag, gazelle, ostrich, &c. These animals have probably been surprised by an inundation, of which the natives are taking advantage.

Mr. Davis was also fortunate enough to secure for the Museum the remains of a collection formed from various parts of the Regency of Tunis by Sir Thomas Reade, in conjunction with a German architect of the name of Honegger, who died in London in 1849. The antiquities are chiefly *stelæ*, inscribed in the late Phœnician character, and are important in a paleographical point of view.

[a] Lysons' Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ, vol. iii. pl. xv. xxii.

Postscript.

Since I communicated an account of Mr. Davis's excavations to the Society, an eminent French antiquary, M. Beulé, Professor of Archæology at the Bibliothèque Imperiale, has published[a] the results of some researches made by him at Carthage during the spring of the year 1859. They possess many features of interest, and are so closely connected with the subject of the preceding communication, that a short abstract of them may form an appropriate addition to it.

M. Beulé selected for his excavations the flat-topped hill of St. Louis, partly as the presumed site of the Byrsa or Acropolis, partly as being the property of the French Government. He surveyed the whole plateau carefully, marking in the plan which he has published[b] the scanty ruins that he found. Many of them proved to be portions of cisterns for rain water; but at two points the results of his excavations were of considerable interest. One of the greatest difficulties had been to discover some undoubted remains of Punic architecture. M. Beulé thought it probable that some portion of the walls, from their solidity, might have survived other buildings. He selected the southern side of the hill as a likely spot for his purpose, and commenced excavating at the south-east corner. His researches, having been made at his own expense, were necessarily limited in extent. Not having the necessary appliances for tunneling, he was obliged to content himself with sinking pits gradually diminishing as they descended. This mode of proceeding necessitated a tedious labour, as the rock proved to be covered at this spot by an accumulation of 56 feet. The upper layers, as was to be expected, were of Byzantine origin, consisting of fragments of architecture, chiefly unornamented, in the greatest confusion. Among them were large masses of a wall built of narrow layers of tufa resembling bricks, formed into solid blocks by the tenacity of the mortar. These were conjectured to have been portions of the fortifications built by Theodosius and destroyed by the Arabs. Below was a layer of Roman remains still more thoroughly destroyed, among which was found part of a terminal figure of Æsculapius. At length the excavators arrived at far more massive constructions, being part of a wall very different in character from the other, and evidently of considerable antiquity. It

[a] Moniteur Universel, 14 Mai, 1859. Revue Archeologique, tom. xvi. p. 170. Journal des Savants, August, September, and November, 1859, January, 1860.

[b] Journal des Savants, Sept. 1859, pl. i.

was built of squared blocks of tufa, generally laid in courses, but occasionally joggled one into the other; some of them were of large size, measuring as much as 5 feet by 3 feet. The lower portion only of this wall remained, of various heights, but nowhere exceeding 15 feet. The wall was hollow, as will be seen by the accompanying plan (fig. 7).[a] The outer wall was about 6 feet 6 inches thick; behind this was a corridor 6 feet 2 inches wide, into which opened a series of cells with semi-circular terminations; they had narrow entrances, and were 13 feet 8 inches long, and 10 feet 9 inches wide; they were divided from each other by walls 3 feet 6 inches thick, and from the corridor by another 3 feet 3 inches thick; the wall at the further end of each cell was 3 feet 3 inches thick, and formed a straight line parallel with the outer wall. The whole breadth of the fortification was 32 feet 10 inches, agreeing very fairly with the dimension of 30 feet Greek (30 feet 4 inches English) mentioned by Appian,[b] and still better with that of 22 cubits (33 feet 4 inches English) given by Diodorus.[c]

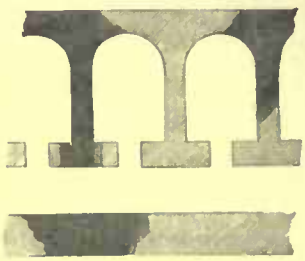


Fig 7. PLAN OF WALLS, CARTHAGE.

Within the cells was discovered a layer of ashes from 3 to 4 feet in thickness, evidently the remains of a great conflagration. Among them were molten lumps of metal, such as iron, copper, tin, and lead, fragments of thin white glass, sling-bullets made of compact terra-cotta, and fragments of pottery. The last consisted of three different kinds: some of them resembled the Archaic pottery discovered at Corinth and elsewhere, which from its peculiar style has been termed Græco-Phœnician. Others were fragments of a black glazed ware, resembling the fabrics of Nola, and evidently of Greek origin. The third variety was of a peculiar orange colour, and is considered by M. Beulé to have been of local manufacture. There were also pieces of half-charred wood, which he conjectures to be the remains of the beams which supported the upper corridors; for we learn from Appian that the walls were built hollow, and in stages.

At the foot of the wall on the outside were found three sculptured fragments, two of them of calcareous stone and the other of marble.[d] They are nearly alike in pattern, and closely resemble part of a marble slab discovered by Mr.

[a] The Plan is copied from that published by M. Beulé, Journal des Savants, Nov. 1859, pl. ii. fig. 1.

[b] Lib. viii. c. 95.

[c] Rel. lib. xxxij. Ecl. 2.

[d] Engraved in Journal des Savants, Nov. 1859, pl. ii. fig. 3—5.

Davis, which is represented in the accompanying woodcut (fig. 8). The design is evidently derived from a wooden lattice fastened together with large nails. On the reverse are very shallow mouldings, apparently of late date. M. Beulé suggests, though with some hesitation, that the sculptures he found may have formed decorations on the exterior of the fortifications, marking the several stages. Apart from the unsuitableness of such thin slabs for ornamenting massive walls, the great similarity between these patterns and some of the decorations in early Christian churches and on consular diptychs seems to indicate a later date. It appears from M. Beulé's account that the walls were repaired during the Roman period, probably when the city was fortified by Theodosius; the outside of the wall would then have been laid bare, in order to give it full height, although the internal cells might not have been disturbed: and it is to this period that the ornaments in question seem to me to belong.

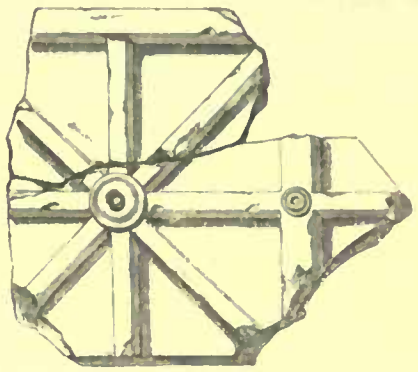


Fig. 8. MARBLE PANEL, CARTHAGE.
Width 1ft. 2 in.

The other discovery took place within the inclosure of the chapel of St. Louis, at the foot of an ancient wall, from which the ground slopes towards the east. Here M. Beulé found the apsidal terminations of a series of parallel chambers, each of them about 20 feet wide and about 30 feet high; which he conjectures to have been originally seven in number. He was not able to pursue the excavations very far, owing to the extent of the ruins. He ascertained, however, that the chamber which would have formed the centre of the seven was more richly decorated than the others. The vaulting was ornamented with moulded panels in stucco, shewing traces of colour; the walls had been lined with thin slabs of rich marbles, and the floor covered with a fine pavement, formed of precious marbles cut into geometrical patterns. Round the semicircular end was a low marble bench. The decorations of the side chambers had been only painted, and in one of them was a large pedestal. This building M. Beulé conjectures to have formed part of the Roman Pro-consul's palace or of the public library, both of them edifices which are known to have stood on the Byrsa.

Some parts of these ruins were encumbered with fragments of capitals and other architectural decorations of white marble, the wreck of a fine building of the Corinthian order. The similarity of these fragments to some brought

to light in digging the foundations of the Chapel of St. Louis, which stands on higher ground, seems to shew that the chapel occupies the site of that building. It was probably the temple of Æsculapius, which is mentioned as placed in a commanding position on the Byrsa.

Two minor discoveries deserve notice. About half way between the Punic walls and the Roman chambers were found traces of a building. In excavating there a fragment of a bas-relief was brought to light, representing, according to M. Beulé, part of an oak-wreath and a portion of a temple of the Ionic order.[a] The oak being sacred to Jupiter, he considers the fragment part of a votive dedication to that god, and the building to be his temple at Carthage. I have already expressed my doubts whether there was a separate temple to this divinity in Punic Carthage; and the evidence of such a temple having existed in Roman times is slight; the only authority, so far as I am aware, being a passage in one of the writers on the Donatist Schism, who tells us that in A.D. 314 Cæcilianus, Bishop of Carthage, appeared to give evidence before Aurelius Didymus Sperecius, Duumvir of Carthage, who is described as "Sacerdos Jovis Optimi Maximi."[b] Moreover, the foliage seems to me part of an oak tree, rather than a wreath, and the building is more like an *heroon* than a temple; so that the whole may have been a portion of one of the bas-reliefs, treated in a pictorial manner, which are frequently found in Roman art of Imperial times.

At the south-west corner of the plateau M. Beulé noticed the remains of a mosaic, which he describes as representing the twelve months, by figures of rather less than life-size, in Byzantine costumes, with their names inscribed in Latin. It would be interesting to compare the subjects of this pavement with those in the mosaic above described.

Archæologists are greatly indebted to M. Beulé for the zeal that led him to make these excavations, which he did solely in a spirit of antiquarian investigation, neither counting the cost nor looking to be rewarded by the discovery of ancient works of art, but simply to obtain a satisfactory solution of some of the numerous doubts which beset the topography of Carthage.

[a] Journal des Savants, Nov. 1859, pl. ii. fig. 6.

[b] Mon. Vet. ad Donatist. Hist., appended to Optatus, de Schism. Donatist. ed. Dupin. 1702, p. 163.

XVI. *Observations on a MS. Relation of the Proceedings in the last Session of the Parliament holden in the Fourth year of King Charles, A.D.* 1628, *belonging to the Earl of Verulam. By* John Bruce, *Esq.*, V.P.S.A.

Read 31 March, 1859.

By permission of the Earl of Verulam, conveyed to me through W. J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A., I am enabled to exhibit to the Society a Manuscript from the collection at Gorhambury, which has some peculiar claims upon the attention of historical antiquaries. It is entitled, "A True Relation of the proceedings in the last Session of Parliament houlden in the Fourth year of King Charles, A° Dñi. 1628," and is a nearly contemporary MS. plainly written upon ninety-two leaves of paper of a small folio size.

Manuscript accounts of the proceedings of this Session of Parliament are not uncommon; I am aware of nine in the British Museum. A similar manuscript is in my possession, which formerly belonged to Mr Bindley. There are two in the State Paper Office; others occur in various collections; and, I may add, that some extremely brief notes are preserved in the Library of this Society. After considering all those to which I have had access, it will appear, I think, that Lord Verulam's MS., although in some slight respects incomplete, is probably the most important of them all.

All the narratives of the proceedings of the House of Commons during the session alluded to, which are known to me, seem to have been originally derived from that one of the before-mentioned manuscripts which is ordinarily entitled, very nearly in the words of Lord Verulam's manuscript, "A True Relation of every dayes proceedings in Parliament from the beginning thereof, being the 20th January, 1628." This manuscript was probably compiled from time to time, perhaps even, as the title may indicate, from day to day, during the sitting of the Parliament, by some person who had access to peculiar sources of information, although without being directly authorised as a reporter. The manuscripts of the "True Relation" exhibit it in three several forms, or, as I take it, in three degrees of completeness.

The Harleian manuscripts, 2,234, 4,619, 4,702, 6,056, and 6,255, and the two

copies at the State Paper Office, are examples of the "True Relation" in what I suppose to be its first form. Variations occur between these several copies, but they are all substantially one, and contain a plain narrative of a somewhat formal character, and occasionally disjointed and fragmentary.

The next form of the "True Relation" is that in which it is found in copies which have the title of "The Proceedings, or a Journall of the passages in the Second Session of Parliament holden at Westminster in the 4th yeare of the raigne of our most gratious Soveraigne Lord Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c., begunn the 20 day of January and ended the 10th of March, Anno Domini 1628." This is the title of the Bindley MS. and also of the Harleian MS. 4,295. From the insertion of the day of the dissolution of the Parliament in the title, this account may be inferred to be posterior to the other, the title to which reads as if the Parliament were still sitting; and, in further corroboration of that inference, all the copies of "The Proceedings" which I have seen, contain additions and particulars not to be found in the before-mentioned MSS. of the "True Relation." Two passages will sufficiently enable any one to distinguish between them: First, at the end of the account for the 23rd February, 1628-9, there will be found in the MSS. entitled "The Proceedings," a paper designated "Heads of Articles to be insisted on concerning Religion, agreed on at the Sub-committee for Religion." These valuable and very precise resolutions do not appear in the ordinary manuscripts of the "True Relation." Second, the accounts in these two sets of manuscripts of the sitting of the 2nd of March differ materially. The "True Relation" gives at most notes of speeches of Sir John Eliot and Selden, and the Protestation tendered to the House; "The Proceedings" contains not only those speeches, but a narrative of what actually occurred.

On going one step further, we come finally to certain copies of the "True Relation" which were apparently compiled with greater care than the preceding, and which especially contain a much fuller narrative of the proceedings of the 2nd March. Lord Verulam's MS. is one of these, and the Harleian MSS. 2,305 and 6,800, and the Hargrave MS. 299 belong to the same class. The greater care to which I have alluded is evidenced throughout in a multitude of verbal alterations;[a] and the narrative of the proceedings of the 2nd March bears upon

[a] One will suffice for the identification of the corrected copies of the "True Relation." Under the 23rd February, there occurs a speech of Sir Humphrey May, in which he remarks: "We are all agreed a word is given; we have wine and oil before us; if you go to punish delinquents, there is vinegar in the wound." In the Verulam and other similar manuscripts, the "word" is altered into "wound." The MSS. of the first and second class read "a word," or "the word."

the face of it more conformity to parliamentary usage, and to what seems probable to have been the course on such a day of excitement and uproar. But even among the manuscripts of this third class there are considerable variations, as will appear hereafter. Each has some peculiarities and some omissions: Lord Verulam's is, perhaps, the best of the whole.

The printed authorities for this Session commence with a quarto pamphlet, printed in London in 1641, and entitled "The Diurnal Occurrences of every day's proceeding in Parliament since the beginning thereof, being Tuesday, the twentieth of January, which ended the tenth of March, Anno Dom. 1628. With the arguments of the Members of the House then assembled." This pamphlet is simply a publication of the manuscript "True Relation" to which I have before alluded. Unfortunately, the manuscript which fell into the hands of the printer was not one of the most accurate or complete, and consequently the imprint is full of mistakes, which have thus made their way into all our histories.

Fuller's Ephemeris Parliamentaria was printed from another MS. of the "True Relation," very like that in the Harleian MS. 6,255, and in many respects extremely incomplete. Rushworth printed from the "Diurnal Occurrences." The Parliamentary History is a compilation from the previously printed books, and from various manuscripts, which are all intermingled, first a passage from one and then from another, in a way which is destructive of both accuracy and authority.

The Session of Parliament to which we are now alluding, although only of six weeks' duration, was of extreme importance, and full of incident. Since the previous adjournment, the Government had done many things to discredit the course taken by the House of Commons in the last Session. Persons who had been attacked in that House had been singled out for promotion; the royal consent to the Petition of Right had been printed inaccurately; and proceedings had been taken respecting tonnage and poundage, and the impositions added by King James, which were very likely to be deemed objectionable by Parliament. Here, then, was matter for ample discussion. Coke, the leader in the struggle of the previous Session—Captain Coke, as he was termed by King James—was absent; but Pym, Eliot, Selden, and others of the band which had followed Coke in his leadership at once opened up a vigorous attack upon the Government. Lord Verulam's and the other similar MSS. correct many mistakes which have crept into the accounts of these proceedings. "Sir Francis Heymer," as Fuller prints him, stands here as "Sir Francis Seymour;" "Mr. Walter" comes out as

"Waller," the poet; and one of the most curious mis-readings that I remember —a mis-reading that has fixed itself in our history with a sharp personal application—is here brought to light and corrected. Dr. Neile, Bishop of Winchester, was an object of frequent attack by the Commons. On the 7th February, Sir Daniel Norton, a gentleman of Hampshire, reported to the House some speeches of this Bishop in his new diocese, which went to show that he set his face against that liberty of preaching against Popery which had been allowed during the reign of James I. Sir Richard Phillips, also, inferred, from the Bishop's conduct at Winchester, that he had had a hand in setting up certain ceremonies in his previous cathedral of Durham. At this period of the debate, Sir John Eliot is represented as having burst forth with his usual fervour. "In this Land is contracted all the danger we fear, for he that procured those pardons may be the author of these new opinions: and I doubt not but that his Majesty, being informed thereof, will leave him to the justice of this House." In both editions of the Parliamentary History, this is distinctly applied to Bishop Laud, then the occupant of the see of London; and modern writers, following in the wake of the Parliamentary History, have asserted that Eliot at this time fastened upon Laud by name. The passage could scarcely bear that construction without doing great violence to the continuity of the debate; but Lord Verulam's MS. sets the whole matter at rest by inserting the word not as "Laud," but "Lord," so that "this Lord" means not Bishop Laud but Bishop Neile, who had been the object of the previous remarks.

But that which was most memorable in this Session was the sitting of the House of Commons on the 2nd March, 1629, the sitting to which I have before alluded, and which was pronounced by Sir Simonds Dewes as "the most gloomy, sad, and dismal day for England that had happened for 500 years."

The incidents of this memorable day will be recollected by every one. Sir John Eliot is said, according to all accounts, to have made an indignant attack upon Lord Weston, the new Lord Treasurer, and to have concluded by moving the adoption of a Remonstrance. The Speaker, Sir John Finch, declined to put the Remonstrance to the vote, and announced that he had received the King's command to adjourn the House until the 10th March. The House paid little attention to the royal message, contending, first, that it was not the office of the Speaker to deliver any such command; and, secondly, that the power of adjournment belonged to the House, and not to the Crown. Regardless of these arguments, the Speaker prepared to obey the Royal Mandate. He rose and quitted the chair, when two members, Denzil Holles, son of the Earl of Clare, on the one side, and Benjamin

Valentine, on the other side, stepped forward and forced him back into his official seat. He appealed to the House with abundance of tears. Selden argued and remonstrated with him. Sir Peter Heyman disavowed him, we are told, "as a kinsman," and denounced him as a disgrace to a noble family. Again he endeavoured to quit the chair. Sir Thomas Edmondes, who was old enough to have been ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to Henry IV. of France,—a man of small stature, but of great courage,—with other privy councillors, pressed forward to the Speaker's help; but Holles violently held him in his chair, and swore, by what is termed Queen Elizabeth's oath, "God's wounds!" that he should sit still until it pleased the House to rise.

In the midst of this uproar, Coriton and Winterton, two of the members, are said to have fallen to blows, numbers of the more timid fled out of the House, and the King, hearing of the tumult, sent to Edward Grimstone, the Serjeant-at-Arms, who was then within the House in attendance upon the Speaker, to bring away the mace, without which it was supposed that no legal meeting could be held. To defeat this object, the key of the door was taken from the Serjeant-at-Arms, and delivered to Sir Miles Hobart. Sir Miles stopped the egress of the Serjeant-at-Arms, and, having taken from him the mace, quietly put him out of the House and locked the door. The mace was then replaced upon the table, and Holles, standing by the side of the Speaker, put to the House three resolutions, which were deemed to be voted by acclamation. The King is said to have sent, in the meantime, Mr. Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod, to summon the House to attend in the House of Lords, but Maxwell could gain neither hearing nor admission. Grown now, as is stated in Lord Verulam's manuscript, "into much rage and passion," the King sent for "the Captain of the pensioners and guard to force the door." Ere this officer could muster his stately band, the House had done its work. The resolutions had been passed, the Speaker had been released from the strong grasp of Denzil Holles, Sir Miles Hobart had unlocked the door, the excited members had been set free, and, for a period of eleven years, parliamentary discussion in England had come to an end.

The circumstances of such a sitting are clearly worthy of the critical attention of historical writers. The very order in which the several incidents occurred is of no little moment, and the most minute attention should be given to the verbal accuracy of the speeches. In all these things there is great discrepancy among the authorities. Eliot's speech is, in many of them, divided in two, and the relative time of its being spoken is uncertain; the conduct of the Speaker is variously represented, and no mention is made of Strode, who was subsequently

imprisoned for his share in the events of the day. In this uncertainty, the manuscript of Lord Verulam offers us what may almost be termed a new version of these incidents, and one which I venture to think is more likely to be true than any other which I have seen. To print the whole manuscript is out of the question, although it would be invaluable to an editor of a new edition of the Parliamentary History; but that portion which relates to the sitting of the second of March is short, and will bear printing as it stands.

Report of Proceedings of the House of Commons on the 2nd March, 1628-9, *from Verulam MS. No.* 36, *p.* 89.

"Monday 2do Marcij.

"Upon Monday the second of March, as soone as praiers were ended, the Speaker went into the chaire, and delivered the Kinges command for the adiornement of the Howse untill Tewsday sevenight following, being the tenth of March.

"The Howse made him answere, that it was not the office of a Speaker to deliver any such command unto them, but for the adiornement of the Howse it did properly belong unto themselves, and, after they had uttered some thinges they thought fitt to be spoken of, they would sattisfie the King.

"The Speaker tould them, he had an expresse command from his Maiestie that as soone as he had delivered his message he should rise, and upon that left the chaire, but was by force drawne to it againe by Mr. Densill Holles, sonn to the Earle of Clare, Mr. Valentine, and others: and Mr. Hollis, notwithstanding the endeavour of Sir Thomas Edmonds, Sir Humfry May, and other privie Councellers to free the Speaker from the chaire, swore, 'God's wounds!' he should sitt still until they pleased to rise.

"Here Sir John Elliott begann in a rhetoricall oration to enveigh against the Lord Treasorer and the Bishop of Winchester, saying he could prove the Lord Treasorer to be a great instrument in the inovation of Religion, and invation of the liberties of the howse; and offered a remonstrance to the howse, wherein he said he could prove him to be the great enimie of the Commonwealth, saying that he had traced him in all his actions, and withall that if ever it were his fortune to meete againe in this honorable assemblie, he protested (as he was a gentleman) that where he nowe left he would there beginn againe; and further said, 'God knowes I nowe speake with all dutie to the King. It

is true y^e^ misfortunes wee suffer are manie, wee knowe what[a] discoveries have been made, howe Arminianisme creeps and undermines, and howe Poperie comes upon vs; they maske not in strange disguises, but expose themselves to the vewe of the world: in search whereof wee have fixed our eyes, not simply one the Actors (the Jesuits and Preists) but one their masters, those that are in authoritie; hence comes it wee suffer. The feare of them makes these interuptions. You have seene Prelates that are their Abetters. That great Bishop of Winchester, wee knowe what he hath done to favour them; this feare extends to some others, that contract a feare of being discovered, and they drawe from hence this icalosie: This is the Lord Treasorer, in whose person is contracted all the evill: I find him acting and building one those grounds laid by his Master the late great Duke of Buckingham, and his spiritt is moving for these interruptions: And from this feare they breake Parliaments least Parliaments should breake them. I find him the head of all that great party y^e^ Papists; and all Jesuits and Preists derive from him their shelter and protection. In this great question of Tonnage and Poundage, instruments moved att his command and pleasure, he dismaies our Merchants, and he invites strangers to come in to drive our trade, and to serve their owne ends.'

"The Remonstrance which he offered was put to a question, but the Speaker refused to doe it, and said he was otherwise commaunded from the King;[b] whereupon Mr. Selden spake:—'You say, Mr. Speaker, you dare not put the

[a] The words "misfortunes wee" are here repeated in the MS., but are underlined, apparently by the copyist, as if he had discovered the mistake.

[b] The Harleian MS. 6,800, fol. 66, here contains the following very important addition:—

"And being yet againe pressed, hee still denied to put it to the question, or to read it: which the Clerk also refused to doe.

"Whereupon the Remonstrance was againe redd' [redelivered] to his handes, and by him read.

"And being the third time urged to it and refusing, still insisting upon the King's commaund, he was checked by Mr. Selden, who told him he had ever loved his person well, but hee could not choose but much blame him now, that hee, being the servant of the Howse, should refuse their commands under any pretence or colour whatsoever; that this his obstinacy would growe a president to posteritie, for that heerafter if wee shall meete with a dishonest Speaker (as we cannot promise or assure ourselves the contrary) hee might, under pretence of the King's command, refuse to propose the business and intendment of the Howse, and therefore he wished him to proceed.

"The Speaker, with aboundance of teares, answered, "I will not say I will not, but I dare not;" desiring that they would not commaund his ruine therein: That hee had been their faithfull servant, and would gladlie sacrifice his life for the good of his country, but hee durst not sinne against the express command of his soveraigne."

question which wee commaund you; if you will not put it, we must sitt still, and thus wee shall never be able to doe anie thing; they which maie come after you maie saie they have the Kinges commandment not to doe it. We sitt here, by commaundement of the Kinge, under the great Seale; and for you, you are by his Maiestie (sitting in his Royall chaire before both Howses), appointed our Speaker, and nowe you refuse to be our Speaker.' The Speaker made an humble supplicatory speach unto the Howse with extremitie of weeping, shewing what commaund he had received from his Maiesty, and withall desiring them not to command his ruine; yet, notwithstanding the Speaker's extremetie of weeping and supplicatory oration,[a] Sir Peter Hayman (a gentleman of his own country) bitterly enveighed against him, and tould him, he was sorrie he was a Kentish man, and that he was a disgrace to his country, and a blott to a noble familie; and that all the inconveniences that should follow, and their distraccion should be derived to posteritie as the yssue of his basenes, with whome he should be remembred with scorne and disdaine. And that he, for his part, (since he would not be perswaded to doe his dutie,) thought it fitting he should be called to the Barr, and a newe Speaker chosen in the mean time, since neither advise nor threatninges would prevaile. Mr. Strowd spake much to the same effect, and tould the Speaker that he was the instrument to cutt of the libertie of the subiect by the roote, and that if he would not be perswaded to put the same to question, they must all retorne as scattered sheepe, and a scorne put upon them as it was last session.[b]

"The King, hearing that the Howse continued to sitt (notwithstanding his command for the adjornement thereof), sent a messinger for the Seriant with his mase, which being taken from the table there cann be noe further proceeding; but the key of the dore was taken from the Seriant and delivered to[c] Sir Miles Hubert to keepe, who, after he had receaved the same, put the Seriant out of the Howse, leaving his mase behind him, and then locked the dore. After this, the King sent Mr. Maxwell (the usher of the black rodd) for the dissolucion of the Parliament; but being informed that neither he nor his message would be receaved by the Howse, the King grewe into much rage and passion, and sent for the Captaine of the Pentioners and Guard to force the dore; but the rising of the Howse prevented the danger and ill consequence that might have followed."

[a] "Orations quaintly eloquent." Harl. MS. 6,800, fol. 66 b.

[b] This speech of Stroud does not occur in the other MSS. which I have seen.

[c] "Delivered to a gent. of the house to keepe, and the Serjeant himself being a very old man (att his request) was suffered to goe only, and stood without the dore, but left his man behind him."—Hargrave MS. 299, fo. 139 b.

The principal points in which this narrative differs from the one generally received are as follows:—

1. It is said that, at the commencement of the sitting, the Speaker, "as soon as prayers were ended," went into the chair and delivered the King's command. The scuffle ensued immediately afterwards; and then followed Eliot's speech, and the attempt to induce the Speaker to put the Remonstrance from the chair. In the ordinary accounts it will be found that Eliot's speech follows immediately "after prayers were ended, and the house sat;" and that the Speaker sat still in the chair, without communicating the King's command to adjourn, until after Sir John Eliot's speech was ended, or, according to some accounts, until he was called upon to put the Remonstrance to the House.

2. Lord Verulam's MS., Harleian MSS. 2,305 and 6,800, and Hargrave MS. 299 mention Sir Humphrey May, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, as one of those who, with Sir Thomas Edmondes, endeavoured to free the Speaker from his imprisonment in the chair.

3. Lord Verulam's MS. gives a speech to Strode, which goes to explain more precisely than has yet been known, why he was prosecuted for his share in that day's transactions.

4. It is a small matter to note, although not without its curiosity, that this MS. corrects a singular mis-reading in the speech of Sir Peter Heyman. His words, addressed to the Speaker, stand as follows in the printed books, in accordance with all the other MSS. that I have seen:—"Sir Peter Heyman, a gentleman of his own country (Kent) told him 'he was sorry he was his kinsman, for that he was the disgrace of his country, and a blot of a noble family.'" Some years ago I endeavoured in vain to discover what was the degree of relationship represented by Heyman's word "kinsman." Had I seen Lord Verulam's MS. I should have been spared my pains, for there we read that the words were "he was sorry he was"—not "his kinsman," but—"a Kentish man, and that he was a disgrace to his country, and a blot to a noble family."

On the other hand, it is observable that Lord Verulam's MS. does not mention the Resolutions that were put to the House by Holles standing by the Speaker's chair. The concurrent testimony of a variety of authorities forbids us to doubt that those Resolutions were really passed in the way described, and that in this respect Lord Verulam's MS. is defective. I submit it to the Society, therefore, not as a complete account, but as one which adds several new features, rectifies blunders which are sufficiently obvious when pointed out, and is in many respects well worthy of inspection and attention.